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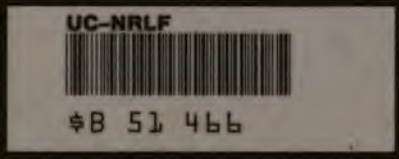

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY

No. IV

THE WITNESS

OF THE

VULGATE, PESHITTA AND SEPTUAGINT

TO THE

TEXT OF ZEPHANIAH

BY

SIDNEY ZANDSTRA

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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NOTE.

No complete examination of the relation of the chief Versions of the Old Testament to the original Hebrew has been made with especial reference to the Book of Zephaniah. Dr. Zandstra has in the following Essay supplied this want with much care and discretion.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

May 20th, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ I. It is proposed in the following pages to study the text of Zephaniah in the light of the ancient primary versions. This study was undertaken largely to become familiar with Old Testament Criticism—a field of which it is peculiarly true that orientation is possible only at first hand. The choice of so short a text is vindicated by the almost unanimous verdict of scholars that the work of the translators of these versions is very uneven in quality. It is in fact still a moot question whether the Minor Prophets were translated into Greek by one individual or by many ; and the arguments that have been advanced[1] to show that the Peshitta is not really a deliberate translation, but rather the final stereotyped form that traditional renderings of various origins assumed, have never been satisfactorily met. The reasons for the choice of this particular text are two. (*a.*) Though the Hebrew of Zephaniah presents many difficulties, no complete study of its text corresponding to such work as has been done on Micah by Ryssel[2] seems ever to have been made. (*b.*) In critical commentaries it always occupies a subordinate place among the Minor Prophets, and in textual studies it is entirely overshadowed by the more important books of the division of the Canon to which it belongs.[3] This neglect, whatever its explanation may be, makes Zephaniah a good choice for a textual study. As it would be fatal presumption for one to ignore the work of predecessors, whether it bore directly or indirectly on one's theme, it

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[1] Perles, *Meletemata Peschittoniana*, 1859, p. 48.

[2] Ryssel, *Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha*, 1887.

[3] Schwally's *Das Buch Zephanja*, Z.A.T.W. (1885), pp. 183 ff., is the only separate commentary outside of the well-known English and German critical series accessible to the general student. Bachmann has written specifically about the *text* of Zephaniah in an article entitled *Zur Textkritik des Propheten Zephanja*, S.K. (1894) ; his article is, however, but a statement of conclusions, and it is characterized by a most reckless spirit of conjecture. Here and there a brief note on some proposed emendation is to be found ; cf. Z.A.T.W. (1885), pp. 183 ff. and Z.A.T.W. (1891), pp. 185 f., 260 ff.

goes almost without saying that all available sources of information have been carefully examined and freely laid under tribute. That which is presented, while based on original investigation, has thus also of necessity the virtue of being a more or less com plete digest of the work of others.[1]

§ II. Because Old Testament Criticism is still for many reasons a wilderness through which each one must in large part blaze his own trail, it seems necessary to preface the statement of the method chosen in this examination by some more general remarks that shall not only explain it, but also justify its use.

(A.) The thesis that all extant Hebrew sources for the text of the Old Testament, both in manuscript and in print, go back to a first century archetype, was first advanced by Lagarde in 1863. The chief supports of this thesis are the remarkable uniformity that is found in the manuscripts on the one hand, and the supposedly large number of corruptions in the text on the other. These two phenomena are mutually exclusive in an ancient document that has been accurately transmitted from its autograph, and their conjunction in this case is said to demand a comparatively late date for the common source to which all manuscripts and printed editions converge. The date of this hypothetical archetype is fixed in the first century by certain external characteristics that the text presents and by known facts in Jewish History.[2] Strack, who about thirty years ago could pass over this view in silence,[3] states in his article on the *Text of the Old Testament* in

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[1] A bibliography has not been prepared because complete lists of the literature that must be consulted abound. Berger (*Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*), Swete (*The Old Testament in Greek*) and Nestle (*Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, reprinted in the *Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche*) are practically exhaustive as far as the general literature is concerned. To the commentaries mentioned in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (article Zephaniah) those of Marti and Driver must be added; in the miscellaneous literature Ehrlich (*Mikrâ Ki-Pheschutô*, III, pp. 456-463) may well be included. This last work is written in Hebrew, but a German translation of the passages discussed is given.

[2] In a few characteristic paragraphs (*Symmicta*, II, pp. 120, 121), intended primarily to show that this thesis was entirely original with himself, Lagarde incidentally gives a brief account of how it had been received by scholars up to 1880. It appears that Olshausen had independently reached a very similar view through a different process of reasoning. Cf, further Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 313-320; W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 56; Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, pp. xxxix ff.

[3] Lagarde, *Symmicta*, II, p. 120.

Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible that it is accepted by most moderns. He himself does not accept it, but holds that the custom of consigning manuscripts that had been damaged by the tooth of time, by fire, or by water, or that were found to contain more than a certain number of mistakes, to the so-called *genizah*, which was generally a room in the cellar of a synagogue, is sufficient to explain all the phenomena. This thesis, whether true or not, offers striking proof that the present Hebrew text gives but scant aid in tracing its own history beyond a certain point, or in fixing its earliest form. Moreover, there are but few manuscripts, of which none are very old, and textual types—the chief material for the criticism of texts—are thus not to be found.[1] But it is a cardinal principle of criticism that to recover the true text of an ancient document it is first necessary to know its history; and that manuscripts, although the text which they contain is undated and unlocalized, generally furnish the primary data for reconstructing this history with the help of versions, which serve in a secondary capacity to fix the time and place of origin of the different textual types that the manuscripts present. In the Old Testament, however, there are no types of text in regard to which versions can be made to indicate a choice, but they themselves become the principal data. Instead of being called on to show from which particular type of two or more existing types it was made, a version must surrender the text on which it was based, in order that it may then be decided whether that text agrees with or differs from the single Hebrew textual type. Because a version must thus itself yield the text from which it was made, Old Testament Criticism is complicated by all the variable factors necessarily connected with translation and translators.

(B.) Languages are for the most part so different in genius that translation from one into another is often impossible without theft

[1] Ginsburg's new '*Edition of the Hebrew Bible according to the Massoretic Text of Jacob Ben Chayim*' (British and Foreign Bible Society, August, 1908) contains the results of a collation of 71 manuscripts and 19 early printed editions. The editor has presumably used everything that seemed worth using in this latest edition and yet there are at most but 27 manuscripts and 9 early printed editions of the Prophets cited. The earliest of the manuscripts is dated 916 A. D. Although sixth century dates have been defended for certain manuscripts, that of the Pentateuch from *circa* 820–850 (Or. 4445) and the Karaite synagogue manuscript of the Latter Prophets, 'written 827 years after the destruction of the Temple,' i. e., 895 A. D., are generally regarded as the oldest.

from the thought of the first or assault upon the idiom of the second. The vagaries of translators are also all but incalculable. In testing one's retranslation of a reading the dividing line between the necessary use of the Hebrew text for guidance and prejudicial dependence upon it is hard to locate. Because he cannot entirely penetrate the structural difference of the two dead languages, the critic is inclined to find variants where none exist; and in obvious disagreements he is apt to make too little allowance for the translator whose mental processes he cannot sufficiently follow, and whose knowledge and ability he cannot accurately gauge. Enough has been said to show that the "peculiarities of each translator, the character of his translation, and the knowledge of both languages displayed" by him—information in regard to these matters can of course be gained only by comparisons both within and beyond the limits of the book being studied[1]—are determining factors in the evaluation of his version. It is also evident that the large factor of ignorance by which the critic is necessarily handicapped establishes in all doubtful cases a strong presumption in favor of the agreement of the current Hebrew with the source of a version.[2]

(C.) The necessity of freeing the text of each version from inner corruptions by tracing it as far back as possible is patent. Neither the Vulgate, Peshitta nor Septuagint can, however, be carried back to the time of their origin,[3] and it is therefore necessary to seek such help as early quotations can give. The mutual relation of the versions has an important bearing on their value as witnesses, and consequently the presence or absence of interdependence must be established.

[1] In the case of the Septuagint these comparisons are much facilitated by the excellent concordances available, but with the Peshitta the work is most difficult because of the lack of these helps. Dutripon's *Concordantiae Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgatae Editionis* can be used with great advantage together with a Hebrew concordance.

[2] Of the three equations Version < Massoretic Text, Version = Massoretic Text and Version > Massoretic Text, the possibilities of the second must be exhausted before the others can present themselves. Ryssel assumed that the Massoretic Text was preferable to the Septuagint; Frankel tried always to make the Massoretic Text equal the Septuagint; Streane held that the Septuagint was better than the Massoretic Text (cf. Stekhoven, *De Alexaandrijnsche Vertaling van het Dodekaprofeton*, p. 121; *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, p. 731[b]). Frankel's results are therefore in so far forth the most dependable.

[3] It is not definitely known when the Septuagint and the Peshitta originated; and although Jerome translated Zephaniah about 393 A. D., the date of the manuscripts used by him is unknown.

§ III. The method of procedure adopted in the present inquiry is based on the above considerations. The history of the versions has been separately discussed to locate and establish the best obtainable text of Zephaniah in each. The equivalents, which are obviously due to the character of the translation or to linguistic necessity, and those which must, because of the absence of evidence to the contrary, be ascribed to the characteristics or *nuances* of the translator, have been grouped together, and for the Vulgate presented in a summary, for the Peshitta and Septuagint exhibited *in toto*. The question of interdependence has been considered, and such readings as have demanded individual consideration have been discussed. Thus the versions have been summoned to show cause why they should be regarded as aids in the criticism of the text of Zephaniah, and not rather as worthy monuments of ancient interpretation. Whether they vindicate their value for criticism or not, they can help to fix the history of the Hebrew text only to the time when the earliest of them was made. Beyond this point, if the text obtained does not commend itself as a true copy of the autograph, external criticism by the help of translations must yield to Conjectural Criticism. A tree only the top of which is visible above some obstruction illustrates quite accurately what can be known of the text of Zephaniah. The angles of convergence must indicate where the continuation of the trunk is, and where branches and trunk join. The present investigation thus resolves itself into a test of the Hebrew transmission at three points, the exact location of which is unknown. This somewhat anticipatory statement has, it is hoped, outlined with sufficient clearness the general trend of the discussion and vindicated the method employed.

§ IV. The little that the Hebrew text in editions and manuscripts offers may be at once presented.[1] 1[1] חוקיה—R. חלקיה, cf. Peshitta; אמון—R. אמין, due to the accidental joining of the strokes for ו and final נ. 1[4] שאר—K. (3 MSS.) שם, cf. Septuagint. הזה—R. ההוא, error due to the forgetfulness of a scribe who carried his copy in his memory from clause to clause; את—

[1] Kittel's text is used as a basis; B. = Baer and Delitzsch; G. = Ginsburg (not his latest edition of 1908); T. = Thiele; W. = Walton's Polyglot; M. = Massoretic Notes; R. = De Rossi's Collations; K. = Kennicott's Collations as cited by R.

R. ואת, to avoid possible confusion due to asyndeton. 1^{5} גנות—R. גנות, error of vision. 1^{6} בקשו—G. B. בקשו. 1^{8} על השרים—R. על כל השרים, error of memory, cf. 1^{4}. 1^{12} בעת—R. ביום, cf. Septuagint. 1^{16} ערים—R. חרים, error of hearing, frequent with gutturals. 2^{1} התקושְׁשו—B. התקושֲׁשו. 2^{2} כמץ—T. W. כמוץ; בטרם clause (3) omitted, R. (6 MSS.), K. (8 MSS.), homoioteleuton. 2^{4} יגרְשוה—B. יגרֲשוה. 2^{7} שבותם—M. שביתם (G. does not point this word). 2^{9} גוי—R. גוים, error of memory, cf. 1^{4}; יבָזום—W. יבַזום. 2^{12} חרבי—R. חרב, cf. Peshitta. 2^{14} קאַת—B. קאָת; בסף—M. בסף. 2^{15} ידו—M. ראשו, odd expression, occurring here only, changed to the usual one. 3^{1} מוראה—G. B. מראה. 3^{2} לא—R. ולא, cf. 1^{4}; אל—R. ואל, cf. 1^{4}. 3^{4} פחזים—T. פוחזים. 3^{9} לעבדו—R. ולעבדו, cf. 1^{4}. 3^{10} בת פוצי omitted, R. (1 MS.), K. (1 MS.), cf. Septuagint and Peshitta. 3^{14} ועָלְזי—B. ועָלֳזי. 3^{15} איבך—R. איבי, error of memory, cf. 1^{4}; תיראי—M. R. K. תראי; רַע—B. G. רָע. 3^{18} עליה—M. R. עליך, decision must be arbitrary, cf. Peshitta and the Revised Version. 3^{20} לעיניכם—R. M. לעיניהם, cf. 3^{18}.

The printed texts from Walton to Kittel are identical except in a few pointings and *matres lectionis*. The sporadic readings in the collations are either due to the versions or are explainable as common corruptions in manuscript transmission. Other explanations than those given above may be equally satisfactory; but the true reading is nowhere in doubt, as each variant has the support of only a few manuscripts at most. It is evident that the archetype of the manuscripts and printed texts here represented has been transmitted with remarkable accuracy.

CHAPTER I.

The Vulgate.

§ 1. The history of Jerome's translation may be divided into three epochs of unequal length, the first and second each culminating in an important recension of the text, the third continuing into the present. The first period is one of conflict between it and the Old Latin which it was meant to supersede. The new translation met with violent opposition from many quarters, and its introduction was therefore very gradual. The

fact that the older version persisted and the method by which a text had to be transmitted conspired together to rob Jerome's translation of its purity in this conflict of almost four centuries. It could conquer the older version only by absorbing many of its characteristics, while every copy that was made both transmitted and increased errors. The power of the Church was being more and more concentrated and its influence so extended that it was gradually becoming the dominant force in Western Europe ; but the authority of the Bible, which was the foundation on which the whole structure of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was felt to rest, was being dissipated more and more, because hardly two copies of it were in agreement. A supreme papacy needed an official text, and it remained for Charlemagne, who was actuated mainly by liturgical motives, to establish one by means of the recension undertaken at his behest by Alcuin. Theodulf († 821) made an independent recension at about the same time. The *Vulgate* which was thus established doubtless differed in many important particulars from Jerome's autograph, but unfortunately very little is known of the history of the text during these centuries of conflict; and the students of Latin Bible texts are consequently unable with any degree of fulness to trace out the process by which the Carolingian Vulgate was evolved. The verses quoted by the church fathers of the period and the few incidental remarks scattered here and there through the pages of their writings throw but a feeble light into the darkness, which begins to lift only in the last century (VIII).

§ II. Toward the close of this epoch and in the next the Vulgate takes higher and higher rank. Wherever the Church goes, it goes as the official version of the Word of God, while Latin becomes everywhere the language of worship. The artificial unity of language thus established was a powerful factor in building up an ecclesiastical sovereignty that practically obliterated national boundaries. The Hildebrandian Papacy had been all but impossible without the Vulgate, which had for many centuries, first through use in missionary propaganda, and then in the liturgies and lectionaries of worship, been welding together the diverse elements of which it was composed. The torch of learning, though it burned most dimly, was borne along by the Church

alone during this dark period; and the only text-book in most curricula was the Vulgate. Copies were multiplied with great rapidity in the schools and monasteries. Again, as was inevitable, the text became so corrupt that many recensions were made. These sporadic attempts could, however, bring about no permanent improvement, because manuscripts were so widely distributed that concerted effort was impossible, while the scribes' choice of exemplars to copy was controlled by the flimsiest critical principles, if by any.[1] Even the early printed editions were for the most part set up from such manuscripts as were near at hand. It remained for the Council of Trent to suggest the remedy that the discovery of printing had made possible, and the Sixtine-Clementine edition is the result of a decree passed by that body. With but few exceptions the 8000 extant manuscripts of the Vulgate belong to this period. The text to be found in them is almost uniformly corrupt.

§ III. The third period of the Vulgate's history begins with the Clementine text of 1592. It is still the official text of the Vatican. Many reprints of it have been made; but no edition, embracing the results of the latest discoveries and based on approved critical methods, has yet appeared, at least not for the Old Testament. Heyse and Tischendorf's pretentious *Biblia Sacra Lat. Vet. Test. Hieronymo interprete* (1873) is practically identical with Bagster's cheap reprint.[2] The Latin column of Funk and Wagnall's popular *Hexapla Bible* (1906) differs only in a few punctuations from the *de luxe* edition, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (Critice edidit P. M. Helzenover, 1906), in which at least one misprint has escaped the proofreader.[3] Vercellone's *Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V et Clementis VIII* (Rome, 1861) is generally regarded as the best.[4]

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[1] Cf. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893, pp. 329, 330.

[2] The differences between them in Zephaniah are as follows, Bagster's text being the first cited; 1^{2-5} *Coeli—caeli*, 2^{2-3} *Domini—Dñi*, 2^{5} *speciosam—Speciosam*, 3^{14} *lauda,—lauda, jubila,—jubila, corde,—corde.* 3^{16} *nolitimere—noli timere.* 3^{19} *fuerat,—fuerat.*

[3] 3^{11} *Adijcies* for *adjicies.*

[4] Now and again more or less extensive excursions have been made into the field of the textual criticism of the Vulgate Old Testament, but on the whole it is still an unexplored domain. Berger, in the introduction to the work already mentioned, gives a very satisfactory sketch of what has been accomplished both in the Old and New Testaments. The book itself takes rank as a classic in Vulgate studies and contains a complete bibliography.

§ IV. The Vulgate manuscripts must be considered in their geographical distribution; for three main types of texts, kept more or less distinct from each other by natural boundaries, are clearly defined. Ireland and Spain because of their location both remained for the most part isolated from the rest of Europe. The Vulgate text, which was early taken to these countries, was thus kept separated from the main continental current of transmission. As the purity of a text is, generally speaking, inversely proportioned to the number of times it has been copied, the rate of corruption of manuscripts was much less rapid in Ireland and Spain than elsewhere. But Irish missionaries and Irish monks kept carrying the Irish text to different parts of the continent; and in the first year of the ninth century the Alcuin recension brought the Irish type of text back into the main stream of transmission, for he is known to have sent to York for manuscripts to be used in his work.[1] Theodulf seems to have been familiar with the manuscripts in use in the South of France, and his collations may have brought into the main current many characteristic Spanish readings. In the Clementine text these three types are blended, for manuscripts from many places were collated for it. As compared with each other, the pure Irish type is much better than the pure Spanish. The known national characteristics of the two peoples lead to the inference that Irish manuscripts would be less ornamental and more accurate, and this is confirmed by all that is known of the types.

§ V. It is clear from what has been said that a comparison of manuscripts of these three types will yield the earliest obtainable text. The Codex Amiatinus is earlier than the Alcuin recension,[2] and the Codex Toletanus antedates Theodulf.[3] For the continental type, in lieu of anything better, the Clementine must needs be used. The results of such a comparison for Zephaniah are as follows:[4] 1[1] *Sophoniam filium Chusi.*—A. Sofoniam filium Cusi

[1] Jaffe, *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, p. 346.

[2] A very interesting account of how the age of this, the best of the Irish manuscripts, was finally fixed is to be found in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, Oxford, 1890, II, pp. 273 ff.

[3] A description of these manuscripts may be found in Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate*, etc., pp. 87 f. and pp. 12 f.

[4] The Clementine text is used as a basis. A=Amiatinus; T.=Toletanus. The collation of A. is taken from Heyse and Tischendorf's apparatus; that of T. from Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, XXIX, p. 1027. Italics have been used to indicate the readings which deserve the preference. Where more definite criteria fail (cf. 2^{14}), it is necessary, since relative values have not yet been fixed, to decide by simple majority rule. Readings that are evidently corruptions have been marked as such.

(Jerome is known to have aspirated the *Begadkefat*; cf. Lagarde's *Onomastica*, index). *filii Godaliae*—A. T. filium Godaliae (this is perhaps an Old Latin reading as it agrees with the Septuagint). *filii Amariae filii*—T. filium Amariae filium (the sense demands the genitive). *Ezeciae*—A. Ezechiae (ף was not aspirated by Jerome in transliteration; cf. Lagarde's *Onomastica*, index). *Amon* —A. Ammon. *Judae*—T. Juda. 1^{8} volatilia—A. T. *volatile*. 1^{8} *super omnem*—A. omnem. *omnem . . . . qui ingreditur*—T. omnes . . . . qui ingrediuntur. 1^{11} *Pilae*—T. filiae (corruption). *disperierunt*—T. dispergerunt (corruption). 1^{12} *faecibus*—A. fecibus (spelled foecibus, Jer. 48^{11}; the spelling *fex* is allowable; cf. *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, p. 744). *faciet*—A. faciat (corruption). 1^{14} *Juxta est*—A. Juxta et (corruption). 1^{17} *corpora*—A. corpus. 1^{18} *faciet cunctis*—T. faciet Dominus cunctis (interpretative addition, suggested perhaps by 1^{12}). 2^{2} *super vos ira*—A. ira; antequam clause (2) omitted—T. (This may be Old Latin, cf. p. 31.) Indignationis—A. *furoris* (in the *Liber de Divinis Scripturis sive Speculum*, XVI, De Libro Sophoniae, this same variant occurs in an evident Vulgate text, and therefore the reading of A. is to be adopted). 2^{3} *qui*—T. quia (corruption). 2^{5} *Philisthinorum*—A. Philistinorum (cf. 1^{1}). *inhabitator*—T. habitator. 2^{6} *pecorum*—T. ovium (this may be Old Latin). 2^{7} *remanserit*—A. manserit. 2^{8} *quae*—T. qui (corruption). 2^{9} *Gomorrha*—A. Gomorra (cf. 1^{1}). *in aeternum*—T. in sempiternum (this may be another Old Latin reading). *eos et . . . . illos*—A. T. illos . . . . illos (the agreement of A. and T. is hard to explain unless they represent the Old Latin; the Septuagint has αὐτοὺς καὶ . . . . . αὐτούς, thus the agreement with it is only partial). 2^{11} viri—A. T. *vir* (in a quotation, evidently made from memory, Augustine has *vir* with *adorabit*. He seems to have changed the number of the verb to turn this Hebraism into intelligible Latin, whereas the Clementine text has changed the number of the noun). 2^{12} *et vos Aethiopes*—T. et vos et Aethiopes (dittography). 2^{13} *Speciosam*—A. T. Speciosa (Jerome's translation of Nineveh is hardly intelligible in Latin, and the unusual fem. sing. adj. was early corrupted into the ordinary neut. plu.). 2^{14} *quoniam*—T. quum. 2^{15} *civitas gloriosa*—A. gloriosa civitas (accidental inversion). 3^{3} *confisa*—T. confixa (corruption). *appropinquavit*—A. adpropiavit (corrup-

tion). 3^{6} *mane mane*—A. T. mane (homoioteleutonic omission; or perhaps better, the Hebraism was early removed). *lucem*—A. luce (corruption). 3^{6} *disperdidi*—A. disperdi, T. disperdit (corruptions). *neque ullo*—A. nec ullo. 3^{7} *dixi attamen*—A. dixit tamen (corruption). *suscipies*—T. suscipe (as *timebis* was read, *suscipe* must be a corruption). 3^{8} et effundam—A. T. *ut effundam* (the reading *ut* may be accepted, not only because it is supported by these two ancient manuscripts, but because it brings out the meaning of the Hebrew better; *per se* a corruption is possible either way; the Old Latin has *et*). *indignationem*—T. omnem indignationem (dittography due to following *omnem*). 3^{9} invocent—A. T. *vocent*. 3^{13} *mendacium et non*—T. mendacium non (accidental omission). 3^{14} *Jubila*—A. Jubilate (interpretative with *Israel* in distributive sense). 3^{17} *salvabit*—T. salvabit te (perhaps due to Old Latin influence; cf. Septuagint). *exsultabit*—T. et exsultabit (cf. Septuagint; more likely, however, an ordinary sporadic reading). 3^{19} *eam quae ejecta fuerat*—T. ea quae electa fuerant (corruption). 3^{20} *tempore quo congregabo*—T. tempore congregabo (monography).

§ VI. Since the distance of the text now established from the autograph must still be measured in centuries, many Old Latin elements that crept in after Jerome had finished his work may be contained in it. The Spanish text as a whole is known to betray an especially strong Old Latin influence, and perhaps the synonyms of T. in $2^{7,8}$, as well as other readings peculiar to this manuscript (3^{17}), come from this source. The Old Latin of Zephaniah has not survived,[1] and consequently it cannot be directly determined how much of it, if anything, has passed into the Vulgate either originally through Jerome himself, who sometimes consciously, and perhaps more often unconsciously, incorporated its readings, or through subsequent confusions due to their transmission side by side. In the belief that they would be of interest, and, perhaps, even of importance in this connection, a collection of quotations from the early Latin Fathers was made.[2] It was

[1] There seems to be a manuscript in the Vatican which contains the last eight verses of the Old Latin of Zephaniah; cf. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 97.

[2] After the collection was completed it was found that a similar collection had already been published; cf. *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1903, p. 76. The results of these two independent examinations are in substantial agreement.

rather disappointing to find that only a few of the Latin ecclesiastical writers before the middle of the fifth century were cited in the critical editions of their works as having referred to Zephaniah. In Tertullian only an allusion to the *dies irae* was to be found. A single clause occurs in Nolanus:

1^{11b} *Exterminati sunt omnes qui exultati fuerant auro et argento.*

Vulgate: *disperierunt omnes involuti argento.* This can be regarded only as an expansive allusion to Zephaniah. Cassian quotes a clause, the thought of which is of such a nature that divergence in its expression is practically impossible except in particles:

1^{12b} *Qui dicunt in cordibus suis, non faciet Dominus bene, sed neque faciet male.*

Vulgate: *Qui dicunt in cordibus suis: non faciet bene dominus, et non faciet male.*

More than a third of the book can be recovered from Cyprian, Augustine and Tyconius.[1] For the purposes of comparison that which seems to be genuine Old Latin has been here placed between the Vulgate and the Septuagint.

[1] The *Liber de Divinis Scripturis sive Speculum* is here regarded as the work of Augustine, to whom it is attributed by its editor for the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna Academy. It is, however, by many attributed to an unknown author. Augustine's capriciousness in quotation is abundantly sustained. His text agrees with that of the Vulgate in five passages, 1^{4b-7a}, 1^{11b}, 2^{1-3}, $3^{8a-12-13a}$. For 2^{1-3} and 3^{12} he has also quoted the Old Latin. His two quotations of 2^{11} are so mingled that he must have quoted from memory in both cases.

Augustine (1). *Praevalebit dominus adversus eos et exterminabit omnes deos gentium terrae, et adorabunt eum unus quisque de loco suo, omnes insulae gentium.*

Augustine (2). *Horribilis Dominus super eos, et exterminabit omnes deos terrae, et adorabit eum vir de loco suo, omnes insulae gentium.*

Vulgate. *Horribilis Dominus super eos, et attenuabit omnes deos terrae; et adorabunt eum vir de loco suo, omnes insulae Gentium.*

VULGATE.

(1[2-3]) Congregans congregabo omnia a facie terrae, dicit Dominus: Congregans hominem, et pecus, congregans volatile coeli, et pisces maris: . . . . . et disperdam homines a facie terrae. . . . . (1[7]) Silete a facie Domini Dei: quia juxta est dies Domini quia praeparavit Dominus hostiam, sanctificavit vocatos suos. (1[11b]) Disperierunt omnes involuti argento. (1[13b-14a]) Aedificabunt domos, et non habitabunt: et plantabunt vineas, et non bibent vinum earum. Juxta est dies Domini magnus. (1[14b-16]) Vox diei Domini amara, tribulabitur ibi fortis. Dies irae dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis, dies tubae et clangoris super civitates munitas, et super angulos excelsos. (1[17b-18a]) Et effundetur sanguis eorum sicut humus, et corpora eorum sicut stercora. Sed et argentum eorum, et aurum eorum non poterit liberare eos in die irae Domini. (2[1-3]) Convenite, congregamini gens non amabilis: Priusquam pariat jussio quasi pulverem transeuntem diem, ... antequam veniat super vos dies furoris Domini. Quaerite Dominum,

OLD LATIN.

(1[2-3], Cyprian) Defectione deficiat a facie terrae dicit Dominus, deficiat homo et pecudes, deficiant volucres caeli et pisces maris et auferam iniquos a facie terrae. (1[7], Cyprian) Metuite a facie Domini Dei, quoniam prope est dies ejus; quia paravit Dominus sacrificium suum, sanctificavit vocatos suos. (1[11b], Speculum) Disperierunt omnes qui exaltantur in argento [et auro]. (1[13b-14a], Cyprian) Aedificabunt domos et non inhabitabunt, et instituent vineas et non bibent vinum earum, quia prope est dies Domini. (1[14b-16], Speculum) Vox diei domini amara et dura constituta, dies potens, dies iracundiae dies ille, dies tribulationis et necessitatis, dies infelicitatis et exterminii, dies tenebrarum et tempestatis, dies nubis et caliginis, dies tubae et clamoris super civitates firmas et super angulos excelsos. (1[17b-18a], Speculum) Et effundam sanguinem eorum sicut limum, et carnes eorum sicut stercus[1] boum et argentum et aurum eorum non poterit liberare eos in die irae domini. (2[1-3], Speculum) Convenite et congregamini populus indisciplinatus, priusquam efficiamini sicut fios praeteriens priusquam superveniat super vos dies iracundiae domini. Quaerite dom-

[1] stercora in another place.

SEPTUAGINT.

(1[2-3]) ἐκλείψει ἐκλιπέτω ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, λέγει Κύριος. Ἐκλιπέτω ἄνθρωπος καὶ κτήνη ἐκλιπέτω τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης· . . . . καὶ ἐξαρῶ τοὺς ἀνόμους ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς . . . . (1[7]) Εὐλαβεῖσθε ἀπὸ προσώπου Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ· διότι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτι ἡτοίμακε Κύριος τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἡγίακε τοὺς κλητοὺς αὐτοῦ. (1[11b]) . . . . ἐξωλοθρεύθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐπηρμένοι ἀργυρίῳ. (1[13b-14a]) . . . . οἰκοδομήσουσιν οἰκίας, καὶ οὐ μὴ κατοικήσουσιν ἐν αὐταῖς· καὶ καταφυτεύσουσιν ἀμπελῶνας, καὶ οὐ μὴ πίωσι τὸν οἶνον αὐτῶν. Ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου . . . . (1[14b-16]) φωνὴ ἡμέρας Κυρίου πικρὰ καὶ σκληρὰ τέτακται. Δυνατὴ ἡμέρα ὀργῆς, ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, ἡμέρα θλίψεως καὶ ἀνάγκης, ἡμέρα ἀωρίας καὶ ἀφανισμοῦ, ἡμέρα σκότους καὶ γνόφου, ἡμέρα νεφέλης καὶ ὁμίχλης, Ἡμέρα σάλπιγγος καὶ κραυγῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὀχυρὰς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς γωνίας τὰς ὑψηλάς. (1[17b-18a]) Καὶ ἐκχεεῖ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ὡς χοῦν, καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν ὡς βόλβιτα. Καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ χρυσέον αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξελέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς Κυρίου. (2[1-3]) Συνάχθητε, καὶ συνδέθητε τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον, πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνθος παραπορευόμενον . . . . πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡμέραν θυμοῦ Κυρίου. Ζητήσατε τὸν Κύριον πάντες ταπει-

VULGATE.

omnes mansueti terrae, qui judicium ejus estis operati: quaerite justum, quaerite mansuetum: si quomodo abscondamini in die furoris Domini. (2^{13a}-3^{5a}) Et extendet manum suam super Aquilonem, ... et ponet Speciosam in solitudinem, et in invium, et quasi desertum. Et accubabunt in medio ejus greges, omnes bestiae Gentium: et onocrotalus, et ericius in liminibus ejus morabuntur: vox cantantis in fenestra, corvus in superliminari, quoniam attenuabo robur ejus. Haec est civitas gloriosa habitans in confidentia: quae dicebat in corde suo: Ego sum, et extra me non est alia amplius: quomodo facta est in desertum cubile bestiae? omnis, qui transit per eam, sibilabit, et movebit manum suam. Vae provocatrix, et redempta civitas, columba. Non audivit vocem, et non suscepit disciplinam: in Domino non est confisa, ad Deum suum non appropinquavit. Principes ejus in medio ejus quasi leones rugientes: judices ejus lupi vespere, non relinquebant in mane. Prophetae ejus vesani, viri infideles: sacerdotes ejus polluerunt sanctum, injuste egerunt contra legem. Dominus justus in medio ejus non faciet iniquitatem. (3^{8}) . . . . expecta me, dicit Dominus, in die resurrectionis meae in futurum, quia judicium meum ut congregem Gentes et colligam regna: ut effundam super eos indignationem meam,

OLD LATIN.

inum omnes humiles terrae, aequitatem operamini, et justitiam quaerite, et respondete ea, ut protegamini in die irae domini. (2^{13}-3^{5a}, Tyconius) Et extendet manum suam in Aquilonem et ponet illam Nineve exterminium sine aqua in desertum, et pascentur in medio ejus greges omnes bestiae terrae. et chameleontes, et hericii in laquearibus ejus cubabunt, et bestiae vocem dabunt in fossis ejus, et corvi in partis ejus quoniam cedrus altitudo ejus. Civitas contemnens quae habitat in spe, quae dicit in corde suo Ego sum, et non est post me adhuc! Quomodo facta est in exterminium pascua bestiarum! Omnis qui transit per illam sibilabit, et movebit manus suas. O inlustris et redempta civitas, columba quae non audit vocem, non recepit disciplinam. in Domino non est confisa, et ad Deum suum non adpropinquavit, principes ejus in ea ut leones frementes, judices ejus ut lupi Arabiae non relinquebant in mane. profetae ejus spiritu elati viri contemptores, sacerdotes ejus profanant sacra et conscelerant legem. Dominus autem justus in medio ejus, non faciet injustum.[1]

[1] Cyprian's exegesis of $3^{1\cdot2}$ shows the substantial agreement of his text with that of Tyconius:—Columba non exaudit vocem, id est, praeclara et redempta civitas non recipit doctrinam et in Dominum fidens non fuit. In the Speculum a clause of 3^{4} is quoted: Sacerdotes ejus contaminant sancta et reprobant legem. This is perhaps a quotation from memory, as Tyconius has a reputation for accuracy, especially in long passages.

SEPTUAGINT.

νοὶ γῆς, κρίμα ἐργάζεσθε, καὶ δικαιοσύνην ζητήσατε, καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθε αὐτὰ, ὅπως σκεπασθῆτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς Κυρίου. ($2^{13}3^{5a}$) Καὶ ἐκτενεῖ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ βορρᾶν . . . . καὶ θήσει τὴν Νινευὴ εἰς ἀφανισμὸν ἄνυδρον, ὡς ἔρημον. Καὶ νεμήσονται ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς πολίμια, καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς, καὶ χαμαιλέοντες, καὶ ἐχῖνοι ἐν τοῖς φατνώμασιν αὐτῆς κοιτασθήσονται· καὶ θηρία φωνήσει ἐν τοῖς διορύγμασιν αὐτῆς, κόρακες ἐν τοῖς πυλῶσιν αὐτῆς, διότι κέδρος τὸ ἀνάστημα αὐτῆς. Αὕτη ἡ πόλις ἡ φαυλίστρια, ἡ κατοικοῦσα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, ἡ λέγουσα ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς, Ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μετ' ἐμὲ ἔτι· πῶς ἐγενήθη εἰς ἀφανισμὸν, νομὴ θηρίων; πᾶς ὁ διαπορευόμενος δι' αὐτῆς συριεῖ, καὶ κινήσει τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ. Ὦ ἡ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ ἀπολελυτρωμένη πόλις, ἡ περιστερὰ οὐκ εἰσήκουσε φωνῆς· οὐκ ἐδέξατο παιδείαν, ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐπεποιθει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἤγγισεν. Οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῆς ὡς λύκοι τῆς Ἀραβίας, οὐχ ὑπελίποντο εἰς το πρωΐ. Οἱ προφῆται αὐτῆς πνευματοφόροι, ἄνδρες καταφρονηταί· ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς βεβηλοῦσι τὰ ἅγια, καὶ ἀσεβοῦσι νόμον. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος δίκαιος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ ἄδικον· (3^{8}) . . . ὑπόμεινόν με, λέγει Κύριος, εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς μου εἰς μαρτύριον· διὸ τὸ κρίμα μου εἰς συναγωγὰς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἰσδέξασθαι βασιλεῖς, τοῦ ἐκχέαι

VULGATE.

..... ($3^{9.13a}$) Quia tunc reddam populis labium electum, ut vocent omnes in nomine Domini, et serviant ei humero uno. Ultra flumina .... deferent munus mihi. In die illa non confunderis super cunctis adinventionibus tuis, quibus praevaricata es in me: quia tunc auferam de medio tui magniloquos superbiae tuae, et non adjicies exaltari amplius in monte sancto meo. Et derelinquam in medio tui populum pauperem, et egenum: et sperabunt in nomine Domini. Reliquiae Israel...

OLD LATIN.

(3^{8}, Cyprian) Expecta me, dicit Dominus, in die resurrectionis meae in testimonium; quoniam judicium meum ad congregationes gentium, ut excipiam reges et effundam super eos iram meam. ($3^{9.13a}$, Augustine) Transvertam in populos linguam et progenies ejus, ut invocent omnes nomen Domini et serviant ei sub jugo uno; a finibus fluminum Aethiopae adferent hostias mihi. In illo die confunderis ex omnibus adinventionibus tuis, quas inpie egisti in me; quia tunc auferam abs te pravitates injuriae tuae; et jam non adjicies, ut magnificeris super montem sanctum meum, et subrelinquam in te populum mansuetum et humilem; et verebantur a nomine Domini, qui reliqui fuerint Israel.

SEPTUAGINT.

ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν ὀργὴν θυμοῦ μου .... ($3^{9.13a}$) Ὅτι τότε μεταστρέψω ἐπὶ λαοὺς γλῶσσαν εἰς γενεὰν αὐτῆς, τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάντας τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, τοῦ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἕνα. Ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν Αἰθιοπίας δισουσί θυσίας μοι. Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇς ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων σου, ὧν ἠσέβησας εἰς ἐμέ· ὅτι τότε περιελῶ ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰ φαυλίσματα τῆς ὕβεώς σου, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι μὴ προσθῇς, τοῦ μεγαλαυχῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου. Καὶ ὑπολείψομαι ἐν σοὶ λαὸν πραῢν καὶ ταπεινόν, καὶ εὐλαβηθήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος Κυριου Οἱ κατάλοιποι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ....

In these verses positive proof of Jerome's use of the Old Latin is not to be found. There are a few agreements, but these may well be accidental.[1] The remarkable differences, even in places where greater similarity would hardly have been surprising because of the nature of the ideas to be expressed, seem to preclude literary dependence on Jerome's part; for this could be established only by more striking agreements in more characteristic passages. The so-called *Itala Question* does not present itself in connection with these quotations. In only one case ($3^{1.2}$) are the same verses recovered from two sources. In one of these it is in an interpretation and not in a quotation, and this may well account for the slight differences found. It may now be stated positively that the text already established must be considered as the purest text of the Vulgate of Zephaniah that can be obtained.

[1] Cf. 1^{7} *sanctificavit vocatos suos;* 1^{16} *angulos excelsos;* 2^{1} *convenite, congregamini;* 3^{2} *in Domini non est confisa,* (*et*) *ad Deum suum non* (*ap*) *adpropinquavit.*

§ VII. No more emphatic proof of the high esteem in which the Vulgate is still held could be offered than the fact that modern Catholic scholarship is about to engage in the stupendous task of a new revision which will, when completed, be the crowning tribute of Latin Christianity to St. Jerome.[1] Doubtless the choiceness of its diction and the majesty of its style have been largely instrumental in raising this version to the commanding position which it has so long occupied in the Catholic Church; but it could not continue to usurp the place of the *inspired* Hebrew Old Testament so entirely, if its general faithfulness as a translation were not beyond dispute. In Textual Criticism, however, accuracy in detail is the measure of a version's value; and entire consistency in translation, even to the complete subordination of all matters of style and diction, is the translator's chief virtue. The Latin text of Zephaniah reveals frequent conflict beween the careful translator and the literary artist. Occasionally Jerome's faithfulness to the Hebrew leads him to do violence to the Latin idiom (1^{2} *congregans congregabo*; 2^{11} *adorabunt eum vir de loco suo*). More frequently he is satisfied with an *ad sensum* rendering from which the reading of his exemplar could never be recovered without the help of the Massoretic Text (2^{7b} *qui remanserit de domo Juda*=שארית בית יהודה; *ibi*=עליהם; 3^{4} *injuste egerunt contra*=חמסו; 3^{6} *dum non est qui transeat*=מבלי עובר; *non remanente viro, neque ullo habitatore*=מבלי איש מאין ישב; 3^{7} *omnia, in quibus visitavi eam*=כל אשר פקדתי עליה; 3^{17} *fortis, ipse salvabit*=גבור ישיע). His translations of participles prove him a firm believer in the principle of *varietas delectat* (participle=participle 1^{4}; participle with article=participle 1^{12}; participle with article=relative clause 1^{13}; participle=relative clause 3^{6}; participle=adjective 3^{8}; participle=noun 1^{18}; participle=finite independent verb 1^{14}; cf. further 2^{14}, where finite independent verb=participle, and 1^{4}, 1^{11}, $2^{5.6}$, 3^{6}, where ישב is in each case differently rendered). Connectives he supplies or omits quite arbitrarily (1^{11}, 1^{18}, 2^{1}, $3^{5.6}$, 3^{9}), and occasionally he inserts the copula (1^{3}, 2^{10}, 2^{15} *eveniet*). Prepositions are for the

[1] The work is to be directed by the Rt. Rev. F. A. Gasquet, Abbot President of the English Benedictines. The many uncatalogued cathedral libraries of Spain and Italy are being systematically overhauled, and special copies of the Clementine text are to be printed to aid in the work of collation.

sake of variety or interpretatively supplied, omitted or changed (2^3, 2^9, 3^3, 3^7, 3^{16}; in $1^{3.4}$ he seems to distinguish between מעל and מן, the former being rendered by *ab*, the latter by *de*). He sometimes shows a very accurate knowledge of Hebrew syntax (1^8 *et erit* . . . . . *visitabo*=ופקדתי . . . . . והיה, the Septuagint has *καὶ ἔσται* . . . . . *καὶ ἐκδικήσω*; 3^7 *diluculo surgentes corruperunt*= השכימו השחיתו). In matters of vocabulary he is, however, not a safe guide. דמה *destroy* and גאל *pollute* were unknown to him. *Speciosam* in 2^{15} is due rather to his failure to understand the passage than to his fondness for translating proper names (cf. 1^{11}, *Pilae*); at any rate his etymology of Nineveh, if he read the word, is far-fetched.[1] The richness of his Latin vocabulary is of course largely responsible for his lack of consistency in the choice of words. For almost every Hebrew word to be translated there were many Latin equivalents and near-equivalents at his command. לון is rendered in the Vulgate Old Testament by *morari* (2^{14}), *commorari*, *demorari*, *manere*, *remanere*, *permanere*, *quiescere*, *requiescere*, *habitare*, *esse*, *residere*, *fingere tentoria*, *dormire* (cf. further Ψ 49^{13}, 59^{16}, Job 27^7, II Sam. 12^{16} for less accurate or mistaken renderings). נכסף=*porrigere*, *parare*, *concupiscere*, *desiderium esse*, *amabilis* (2^1). Within Zephaniah the same root is sometimes translated by different words (2^{15}, 3^{11}, 3^{14}; 3^7, 3^{11}). In $1^{3.4}$ הכריתי is rendered by *disperdam*; and נכרת in 1^{11} is very properly rendered by *disperire*, which is the regular passive of *disperdere*;[2] in 2^5, however, *disperdere* is the translation of האביד, which in 2^{13} is rendered by *perdere*, and in 2^7 נכרת is translated by *perire*. Pertinent illustrations might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but enough have been given to indicate Jerome's general habit of translation and to show how wide are the limits within which the equation, Vulgate equals Massoretic Text, may with entire safety be allowed to obtain. The readings that demand more special consideration will be noted later. For the rest of the text it can be shown on the basis of the above analysis either that the present Hebrew and the Vulgate agree, or that proof of their disagreement is impossible.

[1] His derivation of Nineveh is perhaps based on some Midrashic interpretation. He has connected נינוה with נאוה or נוה, cf. Jer. 6^2 and Zeph. 2^6.

[2] Cf. *Harper's Latin Dictionary* (Lewis and Short), p. 592^a.

CHAPTER II.

The Peshitta.

§ I. There is no *apparatus criticus* for the study of the Peshitta text of Zephaniah, and with the exception of Ceriani's photolithographic reproduction of the Cod. Ambrosianus no manuscripts are available. As far as can be gathered from the scattered and incidental notices of various writers, there are only a few old Syriac manuscripts containing this book in the libraries of Europe. That there are none in Berlin rests on the authority of Strack. In England those earlier than the seventeenth century are British Museum Add. 14,432, 14,443 and 14,468 (1^{1-6}); Cambridge L. e. 2.4, Uni. Add. 1965, Buchanan Bible. In lieu of manuscripts the printed editions, of which there are five, must be used to establish a critical apparatus for the text. Of these the Syriac text of the Paris Polyglot is the earliest (1645). This was reproduced in Walton's London Polyglot (1657), and again, but without vowels, by Lee for the British Bible Society (1821). A Syriac Bible was printed in Nestorian characters and with Nestorian vowels by American missionaries in Urmiah (1852). More recently the Dominicans of Mosul have printed a text (1887–1892). It is difficult to determine the critical value of these editions. P. (=Paris Polyglot), W. (=Walton's Polyglot) and L. (=Lee's text), are generally allowed to count as only one witness, because their differences are either misprints or improvements in spelling. That L. was used for U. (=Urmiah) can be deduced from the text itself.[1] It has not as yet been made certain whether M. (=Mosul) has independent value or not, because those competent to judge seem to have been unable to obtain copies.[2] The text of P. is known to have been taken from the manuscript *Syriaque 6* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, which dates from the seventeenth century. As a manuscript it has no special merit,

[1] Cf. Nestle, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, p. 651a.

[2] Cf. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version, with a Discussion of the Value of the Codex Ambrosianus*, Introduction.

and it seems to have been used only because it was convenient for the printers to handle. The sixth tome of Walton's Polyglot (pp. 19 ff.) contains a collation of two manuscripts, Usher and Pocock. In the *Prolegomena* to this work (p. 165[2]) it is stated that Us. (=Usher) was copied "from a codex of the Patriarch of Antioch," who is the head of the Maronites. In all likelihood this was an old codex not on sale. According to Barnes (*Journal of Theological Studies*, II, p. 186), Lee had access to the Buchanan Bible and to Cambridge L. e. 2.4, and it may therefore be assumed that he did not find in them any readings which seemed to warrant a departure from the London Polyglot. These as well as Cod. Ambrosianus are Jacobite manuscripts. If manuscripts were used for U. and M., they were undoubtedly of Nestorian and Jacobite or Maronite character respectively.[1] These few facts and probabilities, in which practically all that is known about the origin of these texts is comprised, can in themselves hardly support any positive conclusions; but in the light of the history of Syrian Christianity they are of paramount importance for the textual criticism of the Peshitta.

§ II. The Peshitta version owes its survival largely to the Christological heresies of the fifth century. After the Council of Ephesus (431) the followers of Nestorius were so bitterly persecuted by their Monophysitic opponents that the heresy taught by him was speedily stamped out in Italy and Greece. The Oriental Nestorians, over whom the ecclesiastical control of Rome and Constantinople was but feeble because they were separated both by language and character from the Christians of Europe, maintained their peculiar tenets despite all opposition, and Syria became virtually a theological battle-ground. The Monophysites were victorious because of the powerful advocacy of Anastasius and Zeno, and they succeeded in driving the Nestorians more deeply into the territory of the Sassanian kings of Persia. Since the Gospel was first preached within their kingdom, these kings had watched with suspicion the "aliens who had embraced the religion, and who might favor the cause, of the hereditary foes of their realm;"[2] but now that they were

[1] Rahlfs made the assumption that Nestorian manuscripts *were* used by the American missionaries (*Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peschita*, Z.A.T.W., 1889, pp. 161 ff.).

[2] Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, XLVII.

rebels against the Roman Empire and fugitives from Roman jurisdiction, they were eagerly welcomed, and in the year 483 or 484[1] at the Synod of Bêth Lâpât Nestorianism was officially adopted as its confession of faith by the Christian Church in Persia. The Monophysites were themselves anathematized by the Council of Chalcedon (451), and the same influence of language and character operated to perpetuate this heresy in Syria. They were in turn harassed by the Nestorians, for whom apparent defeat had become a triumph through the powerful allies gained, and their ecclesiastical organization was accomplished only with the greatest difficulty by Jacob Baradaeus, from whom they obtained the name of Jacobites. The *odium theologicum* thus kindled between Nestorians and Jacobites has never ceased to burn. Toward the close of the following century many of the Syrian Christians who had escaped both Nestorianism and Monophysitism and who were called Melkites because of their loyalty to the Empire, were wrecked on the rock of Monothelitism ; and a third sect resulted whose members are called Maronites. They never became entirely free from Roman influence and were finally brought back into the Church, when certain minor concessions of ritual and clerical privilege were made by the Papacy.

§ III. The Peshitta remained the official version of Scripture for these three sects ; and though Arabic or Persian became their vernacular after the Mohammedan conquest, the Bible continued to be read in the sacred language. Their common acceptance of the Peshitta in spite of their lasting hostility to each other amounts to proof positive that the Peshitta antedates the schisms which separated them; and the schisms, in that they would tend to produce three distinct lines of transmission, give to Textual Criticism its only means of determining an ancient text.

(A.) Where all the authorities agree, it may be safely affirmed that the text is older than the last quarter of the fifth century.

(B.) Am. (=Ambrosianus) and Us. together establish the West-Syrian reading, for one is Jacobite and the other Maronite.

(C.) If U. contains any distinctly Nestorian readings, they ought to be easily recognized because they stand alone.

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, p. 107.

(D.) In the absence of more positive criteria U. may be allowed to decide between West-Syrian readings. These vaguely general and by no means absolute rules,[1] aided here and there by the scholia of Bar Hebraeus and the quotations of other writers, must in the absence of anything better fix this important text for the entire fifteen centuries or more of its existence. Though Assemani, himself a Syrian, has written a tome of 950 pages concerning Syrian Christianity,[2] he throws little light on the history of the Peshitta as such; and little more is now known of its origin[3] than Theodore of Mopsuestia seems to have known when he wrote :

ἡρμήνευται δὲ ταῦτα εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν Σύρων παρ' ὅτου δήποτε, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔγνωσται μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτος ἐστίν.[4]

§ IV. The following is a collation of P., W., Us., Po. (= Pocock), U., M. and Am. with L.: 1⁸* ܠܒܣܝܡ—Am. ܠܒܣܡ. 1⁹* ܡܚܝܪ̈ܢܘܬܗܘܢ—Po. ܡܚܝܪ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ. 1¹¹* ܡܣܡܟ—Am. ܡܣܡܟ. 1¹¹* ܕܥܙܪܘ—Am. ܕܥܙܪ. 1¹² ܠܐ—Am. Us.* ܕܠܐ. 1¹⁵* ܕܕܘܘܬܐ—Am. ܕܕܐܘܘܬܐ. 1¹⁵* ܐܠܟܝ̈ܢܐ—P. ܐܠܟܝ̈ܢܘ. 1¹⁷* ܒܟܠܗܢܐ—Am. ܒܟܠ ܗܢܐ. 1¹⁸* gold and silver—Am. silver and gold. 2²* ܘܡܚܪ̈ܐ (3)—U. M. ܡܚܪ̈ܐ. 2^{9.10.13.14.15}* ܐܣܛܪ̈ܘܠܓܐ—U. M. omit both *alephs*, Am. omits the first. 2⁹* ܚܣܝܐ—Am. ܠܚܣܝܐ. 2¹¹* ܐܠܗܝܢ—U. ܕܐܠܗܝܢ. 2¹³ Am. ܐܠܗܘܢ additional. 3⁵* ܘܡܫܪܘܩܝܬܐ—U. ܡܫܪܘܩܝܬܐ. (3^{7.8} break in Am.) 3¹¹ ܗܡܝܢ—Am. U.* ܘܗܡܝܢ. 3¹³* ܕܩܡܬ—U. M. ܩܡܬ. 3¹⁷* ܟܘܪܢܐ—M. ܟܘܪܐ. 3¹⁹ ܗܘ ܐܬܡܠܝ—M. U. Us. Am. *ܒܗ ܐܬܚܠܦ ܕܦܪܨܘܦܗܘܢ. 3²⁰ M. U. Us. Am. add at the beginning of the verse *ܡܢܗ ܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܡܠܝ. 3²⁰ ܠܟܬܠܗܘܢ—U. M. Am. *ܠܟܠܗܘܢ.

The readings to be preferred according to the rules formulated above have been starred. With one exception the variants are of no importance, consisting either in omissions and additions of ܘ, ܕ, and ܠ, or in differences of spelling. In 3^{19-20} the collation gives a reading which commends itself as original. The text obtained from these different lines of transmission contains inner-Syraic corruptions, and these must therefore be very early. In 1⁹ Po.

[1] The rules here formulated agree substantially with those given by Rahlfs (Z.A.T.W., 1889, pp. 161–210), though much less positively stated.

[2] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, IV.

[3] Cf. Berg, *The Influence of the Septuagint upon the Peshitta Psalter*, New York, 1895.

[4] Cf. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVI, p. 241.

has corrected one of these by reading ܡܬܪܢܫܗܘܢ for ܡܬܢܫܗܘܢ. The others are ܡܥܡܡܐ for ܠܥܡܡܐ (2^{11}); ܟܡܪܐ (pointed ܟܽܡܳܪܳܐ in W.) for ܟܘܪܐ (2^{14}, cf. *Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 258^{b}, and Ez. $17^{3.23}$); ܕܦܘܠܐ for ܐܦܘܠܐ (3^{6}, cf. 1^{16}).

§ V. Bar Hebraeus cites Zephaniah in the following verses, quoting at most a clause though generally only a word:[1] 1^{1}, 1^{2}, $1^{3.3.3.3}$, 1^{8}, $1^{10.10}$, $1^{11.11}$, 1^{17}, $2^{7.7}$, 2^{12}, 2^{13}, $2^{14.14}$, 2^{15}, 3^{4}, 3^{5}, 3^{9}, 3^{15}. In 1^{11} one of the three codices collated by Moritz agrees with Am. in omitting the final ܘ of ܕܪܘܓܙܗ. In 2^{7}, where the editions all have ܒܪܘܡܝܐ, Bar Hebraeus seems to have read ܒܣܦܪ ܝܡܐ (*in ripa maris*). This may be an explanation of the geographical location of Askalon; some connection with the חבל of $2^{5.6.7}$ is not unlikely. The remainder of his citations agree with the text of the editions. The scholia have no textual value, being either on the vocalization of words or of an interpretative character. Quotations of Zephaniah must be èxceedingly rare in early Syriac religious literature, because a patient search of many indices and footnotes yielded only a few allusions to Zephaniah by Ephraem Syrus in his poetical *Homilies*, and two partial quotations of the same verse (3^{9}) by Aphraates, in which he does not differ from the accepted text.[2]

§ VI. The translation of Zephaniah, while literal, is not slavish, and its style is smooth and flowing. The similarity of Hebrew and Syriac in idiom and vocabulary was evidently of great help to the translator; but still the Peshitta, as the Vulgate, falls far short of that accuracy of detail and consistency in translation which gives a version its chief value for Textual Criticism. The data which show the general character of the translation, and which thus, though of little or no importance *per se*, indicate where possible variants may be looked for and where not, may be at once collected and dismissed from further consideration.[3]

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[1] Cf. Moritz, *Gregorii Bar Hebraei in Duodecim Prophetas Minores Scholia*, Leipzig, 1882.

[2] It was impossible to find out whether the recension of Jacob of Edessa made in 704–5 was still extant; cf. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 116, n. 4; and Ryssel, *Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha*, p. 178.

[3] Cf. Introduction; the Syriac readings are always mentioned first. The plus and minus of the Peshitta in regard to Vau are not noted; it is added about forty times and not once omitted.

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1^{3} ܒܢܝܢܫܐ=אדם (always except in Ez.). 1^{4} ? additional (name of the Chemarim with the priests=name of the Chemarim with *that* of the priests). 1^{5} ܟܠ (2) additional. 1^{5} Part.=part. and ܗܘܐ (cf. 1^{2}, 3^{5}, part.=impf.). 1^{6} ܟܠ (2) additional. 1^{6} ܗܦܟ ܡܢ=נסג מאחרי (cf. Is. 59^{13}). 1^{7} ܡܪܐ ܡܪܘܬܐ=אדני יהוה (only in the Minor Prophets and Ez.). 1^{7} ܘ=כי (cf. 3^{20}, *idem*). 1^{7} ܙܡܢ=הקריב (cf. Jer. 12^{3}). 1^{8} Part.=part. and ܗܘܐ with ? (cf. 2^{15}). 1^{11} ܡܟܬܫ=המכתש (cf. 3^{1}, ܝܘܢܢ). 1^{12} ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ additional. 1^{12} ܐܦܠܐ=ולא. 1^{14} ܩܪܝܒ ܝܘܡ ܝܗܘܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܩܪܝܒ ܗܘ ܛܒ ܘܡܣܪܗܒ=קריב יום יהוה הגדל קריב ומהר מאד (the changes here are for the sake of clearness). 1^{15} ܐܟܬܐ=עברה (cf. 1^{18}=ܪܘܓܙܐ). 1^{17} Impf. with ?=ו consecutive with perf. 1^{18} Gold and silver=silver and gold (cf. Am.). 1^{18} ܕܠܘܚܝܐ ܘܣܘܦܢܐ=כלה אך נבהלה (this is perhaps a good interpretation, but not a very exact translation, cf. 1^{9} ܟܠܗܘܢ ܣܛܘܦܐ ܘܒܙܘܙܐ=כל הדלג על המפתן). 1^{18} Part.=impf. 2^{4} ܠܐܫܕ ܢܕܒܪܘܢ=אשדוד ינשוה. 2^{5} Part. with ܒ=part. construct. 2^{9} ܡܕܡ ܕܐܫܬܚܪ ܥܡܝ=ויתר גוי. 2^{9} ܠܗܘܐ additional. 2^{9} ܥܠ ܐܫܬܪܝܠ additional. 2^{11} ܡܠܟܝ=אלהי (for theological reasons). 2^{12} minus suffix and המה. 2^{14} ܫܡܥܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ=חיתו גוי. 2^{14} *In its houses=in its capitals.* 2^{14} ܒܓܘܗ=בחלן. 2^{15} ܟܠܡܢ ܕܢܥܒܪ=כל עובר. 2^{15} ܢܬܡܗ and ܘܢܐܡܪ additional (due to the fact that the following verses were referred to Nineveh). 3^{1} ܡܕܝܢܬܐ additional (interpretative). 3^{1} ܝܘܢܢ=היונה (this is read as the name of the prophet because of the interpretation just mentioned [2^{15}]; the order of the words is changed for the same reason). 3^{2} ? additional. 3^{5} ܘܥܠܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ=ולא יודע עול. 3^{6} ܐܬܚܒܠܬ=נשמו. 3^{6} Part. with ?=part. 3^{6} ܡܢ ܒܠܝ=מבלי=מאין (cf. 2^{5}). 3^{7} ?=אך. 3^{7} ܡܢܝ additional (interpretative). 3^{7} ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ?=כל אשר. 3^{8} ܕܩܐܡ ܐܢܐ=קומי. 3^{8} ܡܬܝ additional (this verb is inserted to guard against ambiguity). 3^{8} ܪܘܓܙܐ=זעם=אף (cf. 1^{15}). 3^{9} ܘܗܝܕܝܢ=כי אז (cf. 3^{11}=ܗܝܕܝܢ). 3^{9} ? with impf.=inf. of purpose (2). 3^{10} Shall bring to me offerings=shall bring my offerings. 3^{11} ܡܢܟܝ=מקרבך (cf. 3^{17}, ܒܓܘܟܝ=בקרבד). 3^{13} ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܫܬܚܪܘ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ=שארית (cf. 2^{7}). 3^{15} ܡܢܟܝ additional (cf. 3^{7}). 3^{15} ܠܐ ܬܘܒ=לא עוד. 3^{16} ܠܨܗܝܘܢ=ציון. 3^{17} ܓܒܪܐ ܘܦܪܘܩܐ=גבור ישיע. 3^{18} ܟܠܡܢ ܕܡܡܟܟܝܢ ܟܠ ܡܥܢܝܟ=כל מעניך (it is unnecessary to suppose that כלם was read). 3^{20} ܗܘ additional (cf. $1^{14\cdot15}$). 3^{20} Impf.=inf. with suffix. 3^{20} ? ܡܐ with part. and pronoun subject=inf. with suffix.

It is evident from this collection of "peculiarities" that the motive of the Peshitta translator was religious rather than scholarly, and that he desired to make a readable rather than an exact translation. He much preferred expansion to condensation. Interpretative additions, especially in places where the style of the Hebrew is concise or elliptical, are not infrequent (2^{15}, 3^{1}, 3^{7}, 3^{8}). There is a marked preference for long sentences, and these are formed by adding connective particles (*passim*). Pronouns are both supplied and omitted (2^{13}, 3^{11}). Interpretations and paraphrases are occasionally found (1^{4}, 1^{9}, 1^{16}). There is at least one change for theological reasons (2^{11}). A word denoting a general conception is sometimes substituted for one that denotes a particular part of the conception (2^{14}). A plural is often used to render a collective (1^{8}, 2^{14}). Minor changes of order, the reason for which is not clear, also occur (1^{16}, 3^{6}). Gross ignorance of Hebrew syntax and vocabulary cannot be laid to his charge (cf., however, 1^{11}, 3^{1}). Ryssel's general estimate of the Peshitta of Micah[1] will serve equally well for that of Zephaniah. His words are:—Fassen wir . . . unser Urtheil über den Syrer zusammen, so muss die grosse formelle Gewandtheid anerkannt werden, mit welcher er die Gedanken des hebr. Textes ins Syrische überzutragen versteht, und der leichte, flüssige Stil, in dem alle Unebenheiten des Ausdrucks beseitigt sind; dabei schreibt er korrekt und vermeidet deshalb meist Hebraismen.

CHAPTER III.

The Septuagint.

§ I. For many centuries after its origin the Septuagint was a potent religious force, first among Hellenized Jews and later more especially among Christians. Its importance is shown by the translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotian indirectly,[2] and directly by Origen's Hexapla and the recensions of Hesychius and Lucian. Through the gradual ascendancy of Rome, its place

[1] Ryssel, *Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha*, p. 171.

[2] It is generally agreed that these translations were made in antagonism either to the Septuagint or to each other.

was, however, more and more usurped by the Vulgate, and its direct religious influence continued only in the many secondary versions that were based on it.[1] During this time through the mixture and conflation of recensions and translations—a process which was much facilitated by the lazy and ignorant use of Origen's Hexaplaric Septuagint—the text of the manuscripts became exceedingly corrupt. Humanism in its passionate love for the literature of Occidental antiquity, and the Protestant Reformation in that it rejected the authority of the Vulgate while its formal principle demanded an authoritative Scripture, combined to revive a critical interest in the Septuagint which has been steadily growing; but it has long ceased to undergo recension for religious motives, and the printing-press has checked all further corruption by eclectic manuscript transmission. The history of the Septuagint thus falls into two general epochs, which may be called the Epoch of Construction and the Epoch of Reconstruction. Between these lies the period of manuscript transmission in which the second epoch must find its material with which to work. Many editions of the Septuagint have appeared, but the process of reconstruction is still far from complete.[2] The great problem is to recover the pre-Hexaplaric (pre-Origenic) text; but this can be obtained only after the Hexaplaric, Hesychian and Lucianic texts, which lie confused together in the manuscripts, have been separated from each other. The three types thus obtained would, after the recensional elements of each had been removed, represent the texts current in Palestine, Egypt and Syria in the early and late third century, and their collation would yield a very early Greek text. Along these lines comparatively little has as yet been done.[3] The extant Hexaplaric fragments have been collected

[1] *In the East, where it is still recited by the Orthodox Church in the Ecclesiastical Offices, it lost much of its influence over the thought and life of the people.*—Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 433.

[2] As many as sixty-three editions and reprints between the Complutensian text and that of the larger Cambridge Septuagint (now in preparation) are enumerated by Nestle and Swete. The editions from which the reprints have been made are he Complutensian (4), the Aldine (6), the Sixtine (45) and the Alexandrian [Grabian] (5). The Cambridge Manual Septuagint completes a total of sixty-five. There are also several facsimile and photolithographic editions of manuscripts, but these are not generally accessible. Many editions of single books or groups of books have appeared; the text of Zephaniah seems never to have been separately published.

[3] The larger Cambridge Septuagint will when completed be valuable mainly for its critical apparatus, for in its text it will but repeat the Manual Septuagint text of Codex B.

by Field in his *Hexapla Origenis*, but the text is not restored in a connected form. Lagarde began the reconstruction of a provisional Lucianic text, but only one volume of his work appeared before his death.[1] The Hesychian recension has not yet been so much as definitely identified.[2] The collations of H. P. (= *Vetus Testamentum Graecum, cum variis Lectionibus*, ed. Robertus Holmes [. . . editionem a Roberto Holmes inchoatam continuavit Jacobus Parsons], Oxford, 1798–1827), and S. (= Cambridge Manual Septuagint, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, H. B. Swete, 1887–1894, [2]1895–1899) contain practically all the evidence of manuscripts and editions; but the former has been severely criticised on the score both of accuracy and arrangement,[3] while the latter contains the variations of only the important uncials.

§ II. The pre-Hexaplaric text of Zephaniah cannot thus be directly and positively established; indirectly something may, however, be done. In the *apparatus criticus* resulting from the combination of H. P. and S. there are numerous itacistic and sporadic readings which are easily recognized as such. Many rival readings, having good manuscript support, in regard to which nothing positive can be determined because of their nature, are also to be found; but since Cod. B. (=Vaticanus) on the whole presents the version in its oldest form, the balance of probability is in its favor in these cases. There are, however, several pronounced variations from B. and its supporters—B. of

[1] Cf. Lagarde, *Symmicta*, II, pp. 137–148.

[2] *To what extent the Hesychian recension is still accessible in manuscripts and versions of the Septuagint is uncertain*—Swete. Field made no mention of it in the Introduction to his *Hexapla*, although he discussed Lucian and his work extensively. Ceriani made the claim that the Codex Marchalianus (Q., XII) of the Prophets agrees very closely with the text presupposed in the Egyptian versions and in the works of Cyril of Alexandria, and that it is supported by 26, 109, 198 and 306. According to Tischendorf this codex belongs to the recension of Eusebius and Pamphilus, i. e., it is Hexaplaric. The Hesychian group in Ezekiel according to Cornill is 49, 68, 87, 90, 91, 228, 238. Lagarde and Cornill thought that this recension was to be sought in the Aldina edition, which generally follows 68 even in its mistakes; but Stekhoven claimed that the Complutensian text in the Minor Prophets agrees with 40, a manuscript which is closely related to the text used by Cyril of Alexandria and therefore to Hesychius. Grabe found the recension in Codex B. *For the remaining books of the Old Testament* (i. e., with the exception of the Prophets) *we have as yet no published list of manuscripts containing a probable Hesychian text*—Swete.

[3] *A complete stemma exhibiting the filiations of these manuscripts and recensions cannot be made from the collations of H. P.*—Moore, Judges, p. 14.

course represents all manuscripts not cited as differing from it, at least in so far as the collations are dependable,—which are of such a character that either they or the readings of B. from which they differ must be due to the recensions; and for the attribution of at least some of these more or less positive criteria are available. The critical notes in the margin and text of the Syro-Hexapla in some cases indicate a choice, and in others a reading is shown to be due to Lucian by the known characteristics of his work. The fragments of Origen's Hexapla (fifth column) collected by Field, the Syro-Hexaplaric version and the Old Latin fragments can also here and there be used as a test. The text of B., thus confirmed or corrected as the case may be by the available evidence, may be accepted as original. Although many elements of uncertainty must remain in a text thus established, these will be in matters of detail which are of importance mainly for the editor of a critical edition, and which do not materially affect the use of the version for Old Testament Textual Criticism.

§III. The Greek manuscripts of Zephaniah contained in the collations are the following:—

Symbol.	Name.	Date.
A. (III.)	Alexandrinus.	V.
ℵ.	Sinaiticus.	IV.
Q. (XII.)	Marchalianus.	VI.
V. (23.)	Venetus.	VIII.
Γ.	Cryptoferratensis.	IX.
22.	British Museum Reg. 1, B. 2.	XII.
26.	Vat. Gr. 556.	XI.
36.	Vat. Gr. 347.	XIII.
40.	Dorotheus Moldaviens.	XII.
42.	Demetrius Moldaviens.	XII.
49.	Laur. XI. 4.	XI.
51.	Laur. X. 8.	XI.
62.	Ox. New Coll.	XIII.
68.	St. Mark's, Gr. 5.	XV.
86.	Barber V. 45.	X.
87.	Chigi 2.	IX.
91.	Vat. Ottob. Gr. 452.	XI.
95.	Vindobon, Th. Gr. 163.	?
97.	Vat. Gr. 1153.	X.
106.	Bibl. Comm. Gr. 187, Ferrara.	XV.
114.	Evora, Carthus. 2.	?

Symbol.	Name.	Date.
131.[1]	Vindobon, Th. Gr. 23.	XII
147.	Ox., Bodl. Laur. 30.	?
153.	Vat. Gr. 273.	X.
185.	Vindobon, Th. Gr. 18.	XI.
198.	Paris, Nat. Gr. 14.	IX.
228.	Vat. Gr. 1764.	XIII.
233.	Vat. Gr. 2067.	XII.
238.	Vat. Gr. 1153.	IX.
239.	St. Salvator Bonon. 641.	XI.
240.	Laur. VI. 22.	XIII.
310.	Mosq. Syn. 209.	XI.
311.	Mosq. Syn. 341.	XI.

§ IV. Approximately 500 different readings are noted in H. P. and S. (*a*) To this total ℵ* has contributed a large number. He seems to have been a very poor copyist, as the following specimens of his work will show:—1^{3} *ηχθυες* (*ἰχθύες*), 1^{4} *χιρα* (*χεῖρα*), 1^{15} *τὰς πόλις*, 2^{10} *παντοκράτοραν*, 3^{3} *ἰπελίφθησαν*. (*b*) Evident corruptions of all kinds abound:—1^{12} *ἀγαθωποιήσει* (*ἀγαθοποιήσῃ*), 1^{14} *ταχίνη* and *ταχύνη* (*ταχεῖα*), 2^{4} *διεσπασμένῃ* and *διεσπαρμένη* (*διηρπασμένη*), 2^{5} *κριτῶν* (*κρητῶν*), 2^{7} *καταλύποις* (*καταλοίποις*), 3^{6} *ἐξέλειπον* (*ἐξέλιπον*), 3^{6} *κατέσπα* (*κατέσπασα*). (*c*) The sporadic readings of single or of related manuscripts are numerous:—spelling, *Ἰούδαν* (*Ἰούδα*); mood, 1^{7} *εὐλαβεῖσθαι* (*εὐλαβεῖσθε*); tense, 1^{3} *ἐκλειπέτω* (*ἐκλιπέτω*); number, 3^{5} *αὐτῶν* (*αὐτῆς*), 1^{3} *ἐκλιπέτωσαν* (*ἐκλιπέτω*); person 2^{1} *ἡμᾶς* (*ὑμᾶς*), 3^{6} *ἐξερήμωσαν* (*ἐξερημώσω*); case, 1^{5} *δώμασι* (*δώματα*); preposition, 1^{10} *ἀπό* (*ἐπί*), 1^{10} *ἐκκεντούντων* (*ἀποκεντούντων*), 2^{2} *ἐλθεῖν* (*ἐπελθεῖν*); synonyms, 1^{16} *ἰσχυράς* (*ὀχυράς*), *ἀδικίας* and *ἀνομίας* (*ἀσεβείας*); words of similar appearance, 3^{12} *πολύν* (*πρᾳύν*), 3^{6} *ὤφθησαν* (*ἠφανίσθησαν*), 3^{11} *προσχῇς* (*προσθῇς*); additions, 1^{4} *ἐν* (before Jerusalem), 3^{2} *σοῦ*; omissions, 1^{1} *ὃς*: homoioteleutonic, 2^{9} *μένη* to *μένη*; dittography, 1^{4} *ἐπὶ Ἰούδαν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰούδαν* (*ἐπὶ Ἰούδα καί*).

§ V. Between a large number of rival readings which both have good manuscript support, decision must, as has already been suggested, be arbitrary. 1^{4} *ἱερῶν—ἱερέων*. 1^{7} *ἡτοίμακε—ἡτοίμασε*. 1^{10} *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ—ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῃ ἡμέρᾳ*. 1^{11} *θρηνήσατε—θρηνεῖτε*. 1^{12} *οὐ μὴ κατοικήσουσιν—οὐ μὴ κατοικήσωσιν*. 1^{14} *ἡ ἡμέρα—ἡμέρα*. 1^{16} *ζήλου—ζήλους*. 2^{4} *Ἀσκάλων—Ἀσκάλων ἔσται*. 2^{9} *θημωνία—θιμωνία*.

[1] 130 and 131 is the same manuscript. It is by Lagarde assigned to the thirteenth century (cf. Z.A.T.W., 1908, p. 11). 238 is said to be a copy of 87.

2^{11} *ἐπιφανήσεται—ἐπιφανής ἔσται* (cf. Joel $2^{11.31}$, Hab. 1^7). 3^2 *οὐκ—οὐδέ.* 3^4 *οἱ ἱερεῖς—ἱερεῖς.* 3^6 *διοδεύεσθαι—διοδεύειν.* 3^6 *διά—παρά.* It is with equivalents of which these are representative that the elusive Hesychian recension may sometime be connected, unless indeed the view that it was a new version now lost ultimately prevail.[1] Comparatively few variants remain, after B's readings have been accepted in all the cases that belong to this class.

§ VI. Lucian had a double purpose in revising the Septuagint text. He wished to improve its Greek and at the same time make it conform more nearly to the original. His reverence for the Septuagint sometimes led him to place two translations side by side. In supplying *lacunae* he made use of the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotian. His text also has interpolations that serve only to indicate the nexus of the thought or to make an obscure passage clearer. He seems to have allowed himself to introduce only minor changes for the sake of better Greek. An occasional removal of stiffness by a slight change of construction, and the substitution of a singular for a plural predicate with a neuter subject, of a more familar word or form for one less familar, of one compound verb for another, and of a simple for a compound verb or vice versa, as far as now known, mark the extent of his literary revision. It is evident that there are no absolute criteria for detecting his merely literary changes, and therefore many variants of which one or the other is perhaps due to him belong to the class of which illustrations have already been given. (§ V.) Corrections according to the Hebrew and interpretative additions may, however, be identified with more or less certainty. According to Stekhoven the following readings are Lucianic:—1^3 *πάντα* additional; 1^3 *τὰ σκάνδαλα σὺν τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν*; 1^4 *τῶν βαάλειμ, μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων* additional; 1^5 *κατὰ τοῦ* Μέλχομ; 1^{12} *τοὺς λέγοντας*; 1^{17} *ἐκχέω*; 2^3 *ἡμέρας* additional; 2^3 *ζητήσατε δικαιοσύνην ζητήσατε πραότητα καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθε αὐτά*; 2^{13} *νεμήσεται*; 2^{15} *ἐγένετο*; 3^3 *λελυτρωμένη*; 3^{14} *εἰτέρπου*; 3^{20} *οὐ* additional. To these may be added: 1^1 *ἐγένετο*; 1^{16} *δύνηται*; 2^{13} *ἐκτενῶ, μοῦ, ἀπολῶ, θήσω*; 3^4 *εἰς τὸν νόμον*; 3^7 *εἶπον, διέφθαρται*; 3^{13} *οὐ μή*. There are also two readings from the other Greek versions which may have been introduced by Lucian: 1^{15} *ταλαιπωρίας*, Aquila; 3^6 *ἐγερσέως μου αἰωνίας*, Symmachus. These

[1] *Nova potius versio quam 'Septuagintae' interpretum dicenda*—Grabe.

readings, none of which are to be found in B., must all be rejected as recensional; they give no indication as to the nature of Lucian's Hebrew text.

§ VII. (*a*). In its text and margin the Syro-Hexapla has a few important critical notes:—1[4] * *μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων.* 1[5] * *καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας* (margin); 2[2] * *ἡμέρᾳ* (note; *hoc ex reliquis*), * *πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡμέραν θυμοῦ* Κυρίου; 2[7] ÷ *τῆς θαλάσσης,* ÷ Ἰούδα[1]; 3[5] * *εἰς φῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω ἀδικίαν ἐν ἀπαιτήσει* (margin); 3[6] ÷ *κατέσπασα ὑπερηφάνους ἠφανίσθησαν;* 3[10] * *προσδέξομαι ἐν διεσπαρμένοις με* (margin); 3[14] *θύγατερ;* ÷ *λέγει* Κύριος. (*b*) From the text of the Syro-Hexapla additional data may be gathered:—1[7] *καὶ* omitted before *ἤγγικε;* 1[8] *ἐπὶ πάντας* additional, Θεοῦ omitted; 1[11] *καί* before *ἐξωλοθρεύθησαν* omitted; 1[15] the order of words is *σκότους καὶ γνόφου;* 2[2] *θυμοῦ* additional; 2[14] *καὶ* before *κόρακες* omitted; 3[5] the order is *κρίμα αὐτοῦ δώσει, νῖκος* for *νεῖκος;* 3[8] *τὴν ὀργήν μου πᾶσαν ὀργὴν θυμοῦ μου* was read; *ὑπολείψομαι* for *ὑπολήψομαι.* (*c*) Field's fragments of the fifth column of the Hexapla, in so far as they were not derived from the Syro-Hexapla, were obtained from Codd. 86 and Q, and from the commentaries of Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyril of Alexandria on the Minor Prophets. Some have thus already been cited; the rest are here added. 1[3] *καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς;* 1[4] *καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἱερέων;* 1[5] *κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως;* 1[9] *καὶ ἐκδικήσω ἐμφανῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόπυλα;* 1[10] *ἀπὸ πύλης ἀποκεντούντων;* 1[11] *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν κατακεκομμένην;* 1[12] *ἐξερευνήσω;* 1[15] *θλίψεως, ἀωρίας καὶ ἀφανισμοῦ;* 1[18] *συντέλειαν καὶ σπουδήν;* 2[1] *συνάχθητε καὶ συνδέθητε;* 2[2] *κρίμα, καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθε αὐτά;* 2[4] *διῃρπασμένη ἔσται;* 2[5] *πάροικοι κρητῶν;* 2[6] *κρήτη;* 2[9] *καὶ Δαμασκός, ὡς θιμωνία ἄλωνος;* 2[14] *ὡς χαμαιλέοντες;* 3[1] *ὦ ἡ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ ἀπολελυτρωμένη πόλις, ἡ περιστερά;* 3[3] *λύκοι τῆς Ἀραβίας;* 3[6] *ἐν διαφθορᾷ, γωνίαι αὐτῶν;* 3[8] *εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς μου εἰς μαρτύριον;* 3[9] *ὅτι τότε μεταστρέψω ἐπὶ λαοὺς γλῶσσαν εἰς γενεὰν αὐτῆς;* 3[10] *ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν Αἰθιοπίας οἴσουσι θυσίας μοι;* 3[18] *ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς, οὐαί.*

§ VIII. In the passages represented in these collections the text of B. is for the most part confirmed; and its readings, except

[1] In the course of transmission an obelus has evidently fallen out before *πρσώπου.* The one before Ἰούδα is perhaps due to the fact that in some manuscripts a new line was begun with this word, for the diacritical marks were repeated before the first word of a new line.

such as are about to be individually considered, may be at once adopted in preference to their alternates.

1^{8} All the evidence goes to show that *καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας* was absent from the original text of the Septuagint, and these words must be deleted from B.

1^{9} In omitting *ἐπὶ πάντας* B. seems to have no better support than 40 and 239. Field and the Syro-Hexaplaric text disagree. It is necessary to insert this in B. The Syro-Hexaplaric omission of *Θεοῦ* is not explained by a note, but that this word was in the original Septuagint is attested by the Vulgate.

2^{2} The last clause is asterisked in the Syro-Hexapla. In the preceding clause *θυμοῦ* is added with *ὀργήν* (חרון אף), and in the clause asterisked *ὀργῆς* seems to have been read for *θυμοῦ*. There seems to have been some confusion between these clauses the initial words of which are the same. At least "*aberant igitur haec a 'Septuaginta'*" does not at once follow, especially as the Old Latin preserved in the *Speculum* omits the second of these clauses and retains the third. The same omission is suggested by a corrector of Cod. Sinaiticus ($\aleph^{c.b}$). These clauses are peculiarly liable to omission by homoioteleuton, as 233, Cod. Toletanus and several Hebrew manuscripts demonstrate. In view of this fact, and more especially because of the evident confusion, it seems unnecessary to delete either one clause or the other.

2^{7} The Syro-Hexapla misrepresents Origen in suggesting that his fifth column read *ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν ÷ Ἰούδα ≺*. The obelus must be placed before the first word. These words were perhaps incorporated into the text by someone who did not understand the absolute use of *καταλύειν* in the sense of *to lodge*.

$3^{5,6}$ According to the Syro-Hexaplaric notes and text Origen's fifth column read:

κρίμα αὐτοῦ δώσει εἰς φῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω (σαν) ἀδικίαν ἐν ἀπαιτήσει ≺ καὶ οὐκ εἰς νῖκος ἀδικίαν ἐν διαφθόρᾳ ÷ κατέσπασα ὑπερηφάνους ἠφανίσθησαν ≺*. The signs are again misplaced, for the last three words are certainly not a Septuagint addition. It is known that Origen sometimes gave two readimgs where the Septuagint differs widely from the Hebrew, and that he then indicated the Hebrew current in his time by an asterisk and the Septuagint by an obelus. Evidently someone who was ignorant

of this special method of indicating a doublette has arbitrarily brought about conformity with the general practice. One of the metobeli must be deleted, and the other must be substituted for the obelus. An obelus must be placed before the first ἐν. The Septuagint reading thus obtained makes fairly good sense, but it cannot be regarded as an attempted translation of the Hebrew that has come down to us. There are indications in the collation of H. P. that νεῖκος must be read for νῖκος and διαφόρᾳ for διαφθόρᾳ. The Syriac for ἐν ἀπαιτήσει is ܒܬܒܥܬܐ.—Field seems to have read this as ܒܬ ܒܥܬܐ—and the meaning may be *in doubt*. The Origenic reading thus becomes a triple gloss, "in doubt," "and not in dispute ἀδικίαν," "in disagreement". The trouble seems to have been due to the words אול בשת, the first of which was so translated that the second had no apparent government. Comments occasioned by this supplanted the text, while a slight change in one case gave a good sense, and in another a possible translation of the Hebrew word (בבשת=ἐν διαφθόρᾳ). The original Septuagint for בשת is thus unknown, but ἐν ἀπαιτήσει καὶ οὐκ εἰς νεῖκος ἀδικίαν ἐν διαφθόρᾳ must be deleted.

3^{8} זעם is represented in the Syro-Hexapla, but according to Field it was not represented in Origen's fifth column. It is absent from the Old Latin. As θυμός and ὀργή translate אף, חרון, זעם, עברה and חמה indifferently, it was impossible to translate literally where three of these words occur together without repeating one or the other of them. One Greek word thus sometimes represents two Hebrew words (cf. Is. 13^{13}, Jer. 4^{8}, Zeph. 2^{2}), and this may well be the case here.

3^{10} The clause προσδέξομαι ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου is to be deleted because it is absent from the Hexaplaric text and the Old Latin of the *Speculum*.

3^{12} The reading ὑπολήψομαι is an early inner-Greek corruption for ὑπολείψομαι.

The text of the Cambridge Manual Septuagint, which is based on a facsimile edition, is to be preferred to that of H. P., which represents a copy of B. made by the Dutch Septuagint editor, L. Bos. Where the Manual contains Γ instead of B. (3^{9b}–3^{20}), H. P. is to be preferred, and so καὶ θήσομαι (3^{19}) and ἐπι (with στρέφειν, 3^{20}) are to be inserted. ἐξολέθρευσε (2^{11}) should be ἐξολό-

θρευσε (cf. 3^7). παιδίαν (3^3) should be παιδείαν (cf. 3^7). ἄλωνος (2^9) must be corrected to ἀλός (*Putamus* ἀλός *interpretatos, id est*, salis; *sed ab imperitis*, qui θιμωνίαν, *hoc est*, acervum, frumenti *vel* frugum, *putaverunt, pro* ἀλός *additis duabus litteris*, ω *et* ν, *quasi ad consequentiam frugum*, ἄλωνος, *hoc est*, areae *positum*—Jerome).

As there seem to be no quotations of Zephaniah in the early Greek Church Fathers, the New Testament Apocrypha, the New Testament, Josephus, Philo or the Old Testament Apocrypha, no earlier text than that now established can be obtained.

§ IX. The readings of the Septuagint which illustrate the general character of the translation without proving differences of text can now be presented. From these it will be seen that the Septuagint has no general characteristics which it does not share with the Peshitta or the Vulgate, or with both.[1]

1^3 ἐκλείψει ἐκλιπέτω—אסף כל אסף (Est. 9^{28} and Ψ 73^{19} seem to indicate that forms of סוף were read here; cf., however, אסף אדם (1^3), where the verb was undoubtedly regarded as in the 3d person. The absence of a translation for כל makes it entirely uncertain what the Septuagintist read in his text). 1^3 πετεινά—עוף (collective); ἀνόμους—אדם (this is a change for theological reasons rather than an inner-Greek corruption from ἀνθρώπους [cf. 1^{17}, ἀνθρώπους—אדם]. It is unnecessary to suppose that the Septuagintist had either אדם רשעים [G. A. Smith] or [Grätz] חטאים in his text). 1^4 ὀνόματα—שם (collective); καί additional. 1^5 δώματα—גגות (cf. Ψ 129^6). 1^6 ἀπό—מאחרי; καὶ τοὺς μὴ ζητοῦντας—ואשר לא בקשו (the Greek and Hebrew differ in regard to the verb-form to be used with the negative); ἀντεχομένους τοῦ Κυρίου—דרשהו (the participial form is again retained; for the sake of clearness the suffix is translated by its logical antecedent, cf. Jer. 8^2). 1^7 ἐυλαβείσθε—חס (cf. Zech. 2^{17}); θυσίαν αὐτοῦ—זבח (cf. 2^{14}, αὐτῆς). 1^8 καὶ ἔσται . . . . . καὶ ἐκδικήσω—ופקדתי . . . . והוה (the Septuagintist does not seem to have understood the Hebrew tense consecution); ἐνδύματα—מלבוש (collective). 1^9 πρόπυλα—מפתן (cf. 1^{12}); Θεοῦ additional between ארני and its suffix (these words were thought to refer to the temple, and by this addition the reference is brought out

[1] Because the translator of Zephaniah seems to have known no law but caprice in his translations of the article, these have not been referred to; for the same reason there are but few references to tenses.

more clearly). 1^{11} *ἐπῃρμένοι*—נטילי (cf. II Sam. 24^{13}); *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*—בעת (cf. 3^{16}). 1^{12} *λύχνου*—נרות (cf. 1^{9}). 1^{13} *ἐν αὐταῖς* additional. 1^{14} Initial *ὅτι* and *καί* additional (interpretative). 1^{18} *καὶ σπουδήν*—אף נבהלה (=ובהלה, Jer. 15^{8}). 2^{2} *ὀργήν*—חרון אף (cf. Is. 13^{13} and Jer. 4^{8}, passages in which *θυμός* translate חרון אף. In 3^{8} זעם seems to have been omitted in translation because the Septuagintist's supply of synonyms was exhausted). 2^{3} *ταπεινοί*—ענוי (=דל, 3^{12}); *ὅπως*=אולי. 2^{4} *καί* additional; *ἐκριφήσεται*—ינרשוה (the construction is changed to avoid the resumptive suffix). 2^{5} *ἀλλοφύλων*—פלשתים (this is the usual translation except in the Hexateuch). 2^{5} *ἀπολῶ ὑμᾶς*—האבדתיך (the object in the Septuagint is not Canaan, but the Philistines); *ἐκ κατοικίας*—מאין יושב (cf. 3^{6}). 2^{6} *προβάτων*—צון (collective). 2^{7} *τοῖς καταλοίποις*—שארית (concrete for abstract, cf. 3^{13}); *ἐπέσκεπται*—יפקד (=*ἐκδικήσω*, $1^{8.9}$; the change of tense is interpretative). 2^{8} *ὀνειδισμούς*—חרפת (cf. 1^{17}); *ἐμεγαλυνοντο*—הגדילו (= *ἐμεγαλύνθησαν*, 2^{10}); *ὅριά μου*—גבולם (the reading of the Septuagint is intrinsically improbable, for the phrase *my border* in the sense of territory occurs nowhere else with Jehovah as speaker; cf. I Chr. 4^{10}). 2^{9} *καί* (2) additional; *Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων*—יהוה צבאות (= *παντοκράτωρ*, 2^{10}); *κατάλοιποι*—שארית and יתר. 2^{10} עם omitted (this omission was intentional to strengthen the idea, cf. Jer. $48^{26.42}$). 2^{11} *ἐπιφανήσεται*—נורא (cf. Joel 2^{31}, Hab. 1^{7}); *τῶν ἐθνῶν* additional (this addition corresponds to the change from *gods* to *kings* in the Peshitta). 2^{14} *καί* (4) and *αὐτῆς* (4) additional; *θηρία τῆς γῆς*—חיתו גוי (the Septuagint has the phrase as it occurs in Gen. 1^{24}, cf. Ψ 79^{2}); *θηρία φωνήσει*—קל ישורר (?); *καὶ χαμαιλέοντες καὶ ἐχῖνοι*—גם קאת גם קפוד (collectives). 2^{15} *ἐλπίς*—בטח (cf. Ec. 9^{4}); *νομὴ θηρίων*—מרבץ לחיה. 3^{3} *καί* additional. 3^{3} *ἐν*—בקרבה (cf. $3^{15.17}$). 3^{3} *ὡς* (2) additional. 3^{4} *καί* additional. 3^{6} *ἐξερημώσω*—החרבתי (cf. 2^{7}). 3^{6b} and 2^{13} are good illustrations of free and literal translation. 3^{7} *καί* additional; *ἐξολοθρεύθητε*—יכרת (the *τε* was added under the influence of the preceding verbs); *πάντα ὅσα*—כל. 3^{8} *ὑπόμεινόν μου*—חכו לי; *ἀναστάσεώς μου*—קומי; *εἰς συναγωγὰς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἰς δέξασθαι βασιλεῖς τοῦ ἐκχέαι*—לאסף גוים לקבצי ממלכת לשפך (*βασιλεῖς* is a contraction for *βασιλείας*); minus זעמי (cf. 2^{2}). 3^{9} *γλῶσσαν*—שפה; *πάντας*—כלם (cf. 1^{7}, 2^{5}); *ζυγόν*—שכם (change of figure). 3^{10} *ἐκ περάτων ποτομῶν Αἰθιοπίας*—מעבר לנהרי כוש (cf. 2^{12}). 3^{13} *καί* additional, שארית is taken as the

subject of the preceding, not of the following, verb; *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐκφοβῶν αὐτοῦς*—ואין מחריד (the part. in this phrase never has an object, cf. Is. 17^2, etc.; cf. also 2^5, 3^6, 1^7, 2^8). 3^{14} *θύγατερ Ἰερρυσαλήμ*—ישראל (perhaps the change is due to the following בת ירושלם, cf. Gen. 36^{31} B.); *ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου*—בכל לב. 3^{15} *λελύθρωταί σε ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν σου*—פנה איבך (interpretative expansion; it is unnecessary with Stekhoven to suppose that פרץ was read); *ἐν μέσῳ σου*—בקרבך (cf. $3^{5.17}$). 3^{16} *ἐν τῷ καιρῷ*—ביום (cf. 1^{12}). 3^{17} *ἐν σοί*—בקרבך (cf. 3^5, 3^{15}); object pronoun additional (2). 3^{19} *λέγει Κύριος* additional. 3^{19} *ὀνομαστούς*—שם (3^{20} *idem*). 3^{20} *καὶ* and *ὅταν* additional; *ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν*—לעיניכם.

CHAPTER IV.

The Interdependence of the Versions.

§ I. The Peshitta is of Post-Christian origin, and in New Testament times the Septuagint was already so well established that it was quoted as authoritative. The wide popularity that the Septuagint enjoyed would tend to cause many of its phrases, expressions and interpretations to pass into current use, and some of these may have been unconsciously adopted by the makers of the new version. As they were not entirely familiar with Hebrew, it is natural that they should consult the existing version when in doubt. The two translations continued to exist side by side as ecclesiastically recognized versions, and correction of the one by the other is therefore not impossible, especially since many Greek ecclesiastics were resident in Syria for a longer or shorter time. That the Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla may have influenced each other mutually is shown by the case of Bar-Hebraeus, who is known to have used them both. The probability of interdependence, either initial or subsequent, thus established is so strong that the Septuagint and the Peshitta cannot be regarded as independent witnesses when they agree together against the Hebrew.[1] In Zephaniah the influence of the Septua-

[1] This principle is of course invalid when the two versions follow a common tradition that can be located in the Aramaic Targum. The Targum of Zephaniah is, however, so paraphrastic that it gives little aid to Textual Criticism. That which it offers can here be conveniently collected:—1^5 מלכם is interpreted as *idols*. 1^9 הדלג וגו׳׳ is explained as *those who walk in the laws of the Philistines*. 2^1 The imperatives are rendered by words having the root idea of *assemble*. 2^{14} The Targum adds עופא to קול. 3^1 מהרה= מוראה. 3^5 שכם is represented by כתף. 3^{10} The obscure clause of this verse is interpreted by *the captivity of my people which was taken captive*.

gint on the Peshitta (or vice versa, cf. 3¹⁹) can be discerned in several places.

1⁷ ܕܚܠܘ—*εὐλαβεῖσθε* (Syro-Hexapla, ܕܚܠܘ). 1¹¹ ܛܥܝܢܝ ܣܐܡܐ—*ἐπηρμένοι ἀργυρίῳ* (Syro-Hexapla ܡܛܥܢܝܢ). 1¹² ܡܒܣܝܢ ܒܢܛܘܪܬܗܘܢ—*καταφρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ φυλάγματα αὐτῶν* (Syro-Hexapla, ܢܛܘܪܬܐ). 1¹³ ܒܗܘܢ additional—*ἐν αὐταῖς* additional (?). 1¹⁴ ܡܪܝܪ ܩܫܐ ܗܘ ܘܚܣܝܢܐ—*πικρὰ καὶ σκληρὰ (τέτακται) Δυνατή* (Syro-Hexapla, ܚܣܝܢܐ [ܡܬܬܣܝܡ] ܘܩܫܝܐ ܡܪܝܪܐ). 1¹⁷ ܒܣܪܗܘܢ—*τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν*. 2¹ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܐܣܪܘ ܥܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܪܕܝܐ—*συνάχθητε καὶ συνδέθητε τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον* (Syro-Hexapla, ܬܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܘܐܬܐܣܪܘ ܐܚܣܢܐ ܥܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܪܕܝܐ). 2² ܥܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ—*πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς* (Syro-Hexapla, ܬܗܘܘܢ). The Peshitta and the Septuagint both omit יום in translation. 2³ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܕܕܝܢܐ—*κρίμα ἐργάζεσθε*. 2⁶ ܟܪܬܐ—*κρήτη*. 2⁷ ܝܡܐ additional—*τῆς θαλάσσης* additional. ܢܬܚܙܐ—*ἐπιφανήσεται* (cf. the Syriac translation of נורא in Joel 2¹¹·³¹ and Hab. 1⁷); ܐܘܒܕ—*ἐξολόθρευσε*. 2¹⁴ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܢܢܗܡܘܢ—*θηρία φωνήσει*. 3¹ ܡܦܪܣܬܐ—*επιφανής* (Syro-Hexapla, ܡܦܪܣܬܐ); ܦܪܝܩܬܐ—*ἀπολελυτρωμένη* (Syro-Hexapla, ܦܪܝܩܬܐ). 3³ ܐܝܟ (2) additional—*ὡς* (2) additional (?). 3⁷ ܕܚܠܘ—*φοβεῖσθε* (?); ܡܢ ܥܝܢܝܗ—*ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶς*; ܐܬܛܝܒܘ—*ἑτοιμάζου*. 3⁸ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ—*μαρτύριον*. 3⁹ ܬܚܝܬ ܢܝܪܐ ܚܕ—*ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἕνα*. 3¹⁰ The Septuagint and the Peshitta both omit עתרי בת פוצי. 3¹³ ܥܡܗܘܢ additional—*αὐτούς* additional. 3¹⁷ ܢܚܕܬܟ—*καινιεῖ σε*; ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܘܡܐ—*ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*. 3¹⁹ ܡܚܒܠܬܐ—*ἐκπιεζμένην*.

The use that the Peshitta translator made of the Septuagint is on the whole a very intelligent one, although agreement in error can be found in the above list (1¹², 3¹). In 1¹⁴ he preferred to omit שם rather than accept *τέτακται*. In 2³ he refused to accept *ἀποκρίνεσθε αὐτά*, but he adopted the Septuagint interpretation of the first clauses of the verse; dependence on the Septuagint was responsible for the omission of the second בקשו. Perhaps the translation of בחלון (2¹⁴) by the colorless ܒܟܘܐ is due to the Septuagint *διορύγμασιν*. The Peshitta has hardly any demonstrable departures from the Massoretic tradition which it has not derived from the Septuagint. That the Peshitta has influenced the Septuagint in some of the instances cited, while not impossible, is still extremely doubtful. There is, however, to be found in many Greek manuscripts a very early translation of the obscure phrase in 3¹⁰ (*προσδέξομαι ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου*); perhaps this belonged to the original Septuagint, but was omitted under Syriac influence. In at least some

of the readings cited the Peshitta seems to have influenced the Syriac translation from the Septuagint (cf. 2^1, 3^1).

§ II. Jerome lamented the fact that in his day the world 'was divided between three opposing texts of the Septuagint."[1] It was his purpose in his translation to get behind the Septuagint back to the "Hebrew verity"; and though he frequently reminds his reader that his work is not condemnatory of the ancients,[2] he is not slow to point out wherein and how they erred. As the purpose of Origen was similar to his own, he was naturally a great admirer of the Hexápla. His use of it can readily be illustrated by a few quotations:

2^7 Quod autem legitur in 'Septuagintam' *a facie filiorum Juda*, obelo praenotavimus, nec in Hebraeo enim, nec apud ullam fertur interpretatum. 3^9 Ubi nos interpretati sumus *reddam populis labium electum*, pro *electo* 'Septuagintes' dixerunt in *generationem ejus*, ut subaudiatur, terrae. Et hinc error exortus est, quod verbum Hebraicum BARURA, quod Aq. et Theo. *electum*, Sym. *Mundum* interpretatus est, 'Septuagintes' legerunt BADURA.[3] 3^{18} Miror autem Aq. et 'Septuaginta' . . . . . in eo loco ubi diximus: *congregabo quia ex te erant*, pro *erant* interpretati voluisse *vae*, sive *οἴ*, quod semper Aq. non pro plangendo, sed pro vocando et inclamando ponit.

There are only a few passages in the Vulgate which seem to indicate direct dependence on the Septuagint. *Nomina* and *ὀνόματα* (1^4), *silete* and *εὐλαβεῖσθε* (1^7), *transeuntem* and *πορευόμενον* (2^3), *et attenuabit* and *καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσει* (2^{11}), the additions of *quasi* and *ὡς* (3^4), *expecta* and *ὑπόμεινον* (3^8), and the addition of the same suffix (3^9) may all be accidental. *Columba* (3^1) may not be due to the Septuagint *περιστερά*, for in Jer. 25^{38} Jerome makes the same mistake. *Corvus* (2^{14}) is, however, an intentional agreement with the Septuagint against the Hebrew of his day (Quod

[1] *Totus · · · · orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.*—Preface to Chronicles.

[2] *Obsecro te lector ne laborem meum reprehensionem existimes antiquorum.*

[3] In Zephaniah none of the minor Greek Versions are extant in manuscript, and only fragments contained in quotations such as these have been recovered. The longest of these fragments is one from Symmachus, preserved by Theodore of Mopsuestia: (3^{10}) *πέραθεν ποταμῶν Αἰθιοπίας ἱκετεύοντά με τέκνα τῶν διεσκορπισμένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐνέγκωσι δῶρον ἐμοί.* They are of no textual value, for they have for the most part been preserved in citation only because they agree with the Massoretic Text against the Septuagint.

nos et 'Septuaginta' similiter transtulimus *corvus* . . . . . in Hebraeo ponitur HAREB. The Vulgate and the Septuagint agree further in the peculiar addition of אלהי between אדני and its suffix (1[9]); in the interpretation of נכסף (2[1]), גרמו (2[5]) and נגאלה (3[1]); and in the subordination of the independent clause of 3[20]. All these agreements can hardly be accidental, especially since it is known that Jerome was thoroughly familiar with the Septuagint.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEPARTURES OF THE VERSIONS FROM THE MASSORETIC TRADITION AND THEIR POSITIVE VARIANTS FROM THE CONSONANTAL TEXT.

§ I. Vowels and accents were introduced into the Hebrew text not earlier than the sixth century A. D. The so-called Sopherim in the first Christian centuries fixed the form of writing as regards the *matres lectionis*. There is good reason to believe that there was neither word or sentence division in the earliest manuscripts. It is therefore possible to consider the consonantal text entirely apart from the form which tradition has given it by the word and verse division that now obtains, and from the interpretation that the vocalization gives it; for these are as it were superimposed upon the original text. The translators in some cases adopted a possible reading or interpretation which disagrees with the Massoretic tradition.[1]

(*a*). 1[3] *Congregans* (2)—אֹסֵף (* אָסֹף, cf. 1[2]). 1[5] *Melchom*—מַלְכָּם (* מִלְכֹם is read in the Massoretic text only in I Kgs. 11[5.33] and II Kgs. 23[13]; it has been proposed to read it also in I Kgs. 11[7], II Sam. 12[30], I Chr. 20[2], Am. 1[15] and Jer. 49[1.3]. Jehovah is often called a king [cf. 3[15]; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 141; and Brown, Driver and Briggs' *Hebrew Lexicon*, Art. מלך, 3]. The name Milchom occurs or is proposed as a reading only in

[1] In this and the following lists the readings that must be rejected as evidently wrong have been indicated by a *star*. Some that have only the negative merit of being not impossible have been left undistinguished, and those that commend themselves somewhat more strongly have been marked with a *dagger*.

passages in which Ammon is mentioned in the immediate context. In this passage there is no reference to Ammon, and therefore it is necessary to accept the Massoretic punctuation and to look for the exact meaning of the words in the use of different prepositions with the same verb). 1^{11} *conticuit*—נרמה (*נְרַמָּה). 1^{14} The Vulgate takes מר as a predicate adjective with יום. 2^{5} *perditorum*—כרתים (*כְּרֵתִים, cf. I Kgs. 7^{13}—Pro CHORETIM, quod dicitur, *perditorum*, nomen Cretae Insulae ('Septuagintes') putaverunt—Jerome). 2^{14} attenuabo—ארזה (*אֲרַזֶּה, cf. 2^{11}). 3^{8} *in futurum*—לער († Ubi nos transtulimus, *in die resurrectionis meae in futurum*, et omnes interpretati sunt, *in testimonium*, Hebraeus, qui me in Scripturis instituit, asserebat LAED in praesenti loco magis εἰς ἔτι, id est, *in futurum* debere intelligi—Jerome; cf. Is. 30^{8}, Am. 1^{11}, Is. 9^{6} and Gen. 49^{27} in the Vulgate). 3^{18} *Nugas*—נוגי (**nugas* . . . . a nobis ita ut in Hebraeo erat positum, ut nosse possimus linguam Hebraeicam omnium linguarum esse matricem. This has been characterized as an interesting bit of crude comparative linguistics. Amara = מר (1^{14}) would have served Jerome's purpose much better. The Septuagint offers a parallel in χάος=גי, (Mic. 1^{4}). 3^{18} *ut non ultra habeas*—משאת על (*מִשְׂאֵת עַל, cf. Lev. 19^{7}). 3^{20} *in tempore quo congregabo*—בעת קבצי (בְּעֵת). See further under (*c*) 2^{2}, 3^{11}, 3^{20}.

(*b*) 1^{5} מלכם—מַלְכָּם (cf. Vulgate, supra). 1^{11} נרמה—נִרְמָה (*נִרְנַמָּה). 2^{14} חרב—חָרֵב (חָרֵב). 3^{11} ביום ההוא is connected with what precedes and not with what follows. See further under (*c*) 1^{11}, 2^{2}, 3^{1}, 3^{8}, 3^{10}.

(*c*) 1^{1} τὸν τοῦ χουσί—בן כושי (the Septuagintist has interpreted בן כושי patronymically as the following υἱόν seems to show). 1^{11} τὴν κατακεκομμένην—המכתש (*הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ); ὡμοιώθη—נרמה (there are two similar roots of which one means **to be like*; the other, *to destroy*). 1^{12} φυλάγματα (cf. Peshitta) αὐτῶν—שמריהם (*שְׁמָרֵיהֶם, cf. Ex. 12^{42}). 1^{14} τέτακται—שם (*שָׁם); גבור was read as an adjective with the following יום and not as a noun. 1^{17} καὶ ἐκχεεῖ—ושפך (*וְשֻׁפַּךְ). 2^{3} πορευόμενον (cf. Peshitta and Vulgate)—עבר († עֹבֵר). 2^{3} ἀποκρίνεσθε αὐτά—ענוה (*עֲנָוָה). 2^{14} διορύγμασιν—חלן (this meaning of the word is to be found nowhere else in the Septuagint). 3^{1} ἀπολελυτρωμένη (cf. Vulgate and Peshitta)—נגאלה (there are two roots גאל, of which one means **to redeem*; the other, *to pollute*); ἡ περιστερά (cf. Vulgate).—היונה (this form may be a * noun subject

of שמעה, 3^3; or a participle from ינה, *to oppress*). 3^8 Ἀραβίας—עֲרַב (* ערב, cf. Jer. 25^{24}; in Hab. 1^8 the Septuagint has the same reading, and in Jer. 5^6 ἕως τῶν οἰκίων represents ערבות = עד בית). 3 μαρτύριον (cf. Peshitta)—לְעֵר (רְעַר; cf. Vulgate, supra). 3^{13} שארית ישראל is taken as the subject of the preceding verb by the Septuagint. 3^{16} ἐρεῖ Κύρος—יֹאמַר (* יאמר was read and Κύριος was interpretatively added, cf. 3^{19}). 3^{19} ἐν σοὶ ἐνεκέν σου—את כל מעניך (* אֹתֵךְ לְמַעֲנֵךְ); τὴν ἐκπεπιεζμένην (cf. Peshitta)—הצלע (cf. Mic. $4^{6.7}$, Gen. 32^{33}; there are two roots צלע of which the ע is represented in Arabic by Ḍâd and Ṭâ respectively; the one may mean, *to oppress*; the other, *to limp*. The former is found in the Old Testament only in the noun צלע, *rîb*; but the Septuagint suggests very plausibly that the word here and in Mic. $4^{6.7}$ be taken from the root that has the meaning of *to oppress*. Barth [*Wurzeluntersuchungen . . .*, pp. 39, 40] suggests the Arabic ضلّ as the cognate of the word here used). 3^{19} ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ὅταν εἰσδέξομαι—בָּעֵת קבצי (בְּעֵת, cf. Vulgate).

(*d*) These readings, so far as they are not at once condemned by internal evidence, are suggestive for the interpretation of the text. Whether they are wrong or right, they shed additional light on the translations and translators. They also indicate the gradual crystallization of the tradition that grew up around the text, for departures from it decrease in the versions in the order of their rise.

§ II. The readings of the versions so far considered either agree with the current consonantal text, or else data are lacking to show that the text of which they are severally the translation varied from it. It is still necessary to consider the equivalents in regard to which there is positive evidence of disagreement. Many variants are by the context or by parallel passages shown to be due to the intentional or unintentional faithlessness of the translators to their copies, or to the defective character of the exemplars which they used. Those that are not thus condemned will represent each version's actual contribution to the textual criticism of Zephaniah.

(1) Most of the variants are reducible to the addition, omission, transposition, or change of single letters.

(*a*) 1^{14} *tribulabitur*—צרח (1^{15}, 1^{17} and especially Am. 3^{11} show that *צר[ה] was read; the rendering by the future is interpretative, cf. Am. 3^{11}, *idem*). 2^{14} *robur ejus*—ערה (*עֻזָּהּ, cf. Pr. 21^{22}, Jer. 51^{53}; this change may be due to the punctuation of the preceding ארזה which Jerome adopted). 3^{1} *provocatrix*—מוראה (*Quod significantius Hebraeice dicitur* *MARA, *id est*, παραπικραίνουσα—Jerome). 3^{10} *filii*—בת (בני; this may, however, be an inner-Latin corruption from *filia*). See further under (*c*) 2^{14}.

(*b*) ܚܠܩܝܐ—חזקיה (* חלקיה). 1^{10} ܓܝܕܐ—דגים (דיגים; this word is always so rendered in the Peshitta, when it occurs in connection with שער). See further under (*c*) $2^{2.2}$, 3^{1}, $3^{7.7}$, 3^{17}.

(*c*) 1^{3} οἶκον—בני (confusion between בית and בני is frequent; οἶκος =בני, Jer. 16^{15}, Ez. 2^{3}, I Chr. 2^{10}; υἱοί=בית, Gen. 45^{11}, Ex. 16^{31}, Jos. 17^{17}, 18^{15}, Hos. 1^{7}). 1^{9} ἐμφανῶς—הדלג (it has been suggested that דגל or גלה was read; there may, however, be a corruption in Greek here. Perhaps a participial form of ἐμβαίνω, i. e., ἐμβάντας, stood in the original Septuagint; cf. I Sam. 5^{5}, Greek). 1^{10} ἀποκεντούντων—הדגים (* הרגים; cf. II Chr. 33^{14}). 1^{14} σκληρά—צרח (the Septuagintist has translated a derivative of צרר, *to be hard*). 2^{2} πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς (cf. Peshitta, ܒܛܪܡ=בטרם לא)—בטרם לדת חק (perhaps the Septuagintist read בטרם לא תרחקו and made use of the colorless γενέσθαι to translate the verb because he misread מוץ); ἄνθος—מוץ (*נץ); the omission of יום from the Septuagint (cf. Peshitta) may be due to a reading עברי(ו)ם. 2^{5} πάροικοι—גוי (Pro GOI, id est, *gente*, 'Septuagintes' legerunt * GAR, hoc est, *advenam*—Jerome). 2^{14} κόρακες (cf. Vulgate)—חרב (†ערב); τὸ ἀνάστημα αὐτῆς—ערה (*עירה, cf. Jer. 15^{8}, Hos. 11^{9}, Ψ 73^{20}; עור, *to rouse*, is rendered by ἐπανίστημι in Job 17^{8}). 3^{1} ἐπιφανής (cf. Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla)—מוראה (* נורא, cf. 2^{11}). 3^{6} ὑπερηφάνους—גוים († גאים). 3^{7} ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς (cf. Peshitta)—מעונה († מעיניה); ἑτοιμάζου (cf. Peshitta) ὄρθρισον ἔφθαρται πᾶσα ἡ ἐπιφυλλὶς αὐτῶν—אכן השכימו השחיתו כל עלילותם (cf. the Vulgate rendering of the two verbs; * הָכֵן הַשְׁכֵּם השחיתו כל עֹלְלוֹתָם) 3^{9} εἰς γενεὰν αὐτῆς—ברורה (* בְּדוֹרָהּ). 3^{12} εὐλαβηθήσονται—חסו (* הסו, cf. 1^{7} and Ne. 8^{11}; ἀπό=ב is due to this reading). 3^{17} ἐπάξει—ישיש (* ישית; καινιεῖ (cf. Peshitta)—יחריש († יחדיש). 3^{18} τοὺς συντετριμμένους—ממך (מֻכִּים; with σοῦ in the Greek text, מֻכַּיִךְ, cf. Ex. 5^{16}); 3^{18} οὐαί—היו († הוי, cf. 2^{5}); τίς ἔλαβεν—משאת († מי ישא).

(2). There are a few readings which suggest a somewhat greater difference of text than those just considered do.

1^{4} *ὀνόματα*—שאר (שם, perhaps this is due to the שם in the context, or to either Hos. 2^{19} or Zech. 13^{2}). 3^{18} *ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ* (cf. Peshitta)—נוגי († כיום); ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܟܠܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ—היו משאת (הנשאים). 3^{19} *καταισχυνθήσονται*—בשתם (* הֻבִישְׁתִּים; for the sake of variety this was rendered by a passive, since שׂמתים occurs in the immediate context). 3^{20} *ὅταν καλῶς ποιήσω*—אביא (היטיבי).

(3). The words in the versions for which there is no equivalent in the Hebrew are, as has already been indicated, evident expansions of an interpretative character. Where the Hebrew text is fuller than that reflected by a version, explanation is not so easy. The only word not represented in the Vulgate is כרת (2^{6}). Except where it is dependent on the Septuagint (1^{14}, 2^{2}, 2^{3}, 3^{10}?), the Peshitta text is as full as the Hebrew text with but a single insignificant exception (2^{12}, a suffix and a demonstrative pronoun omitted). There are only a few places in which the Septuagint has no equivalent for words to be found in the Hebrew text. Decision as to whether these words convict the Septuagintist of omission or illustrate the "growth of the Massoretic Text" must from the nature of the case be largely subjective. From the time of Luther scholars have remarked a tendency on the part of the translators of the Septuagint to omit what they did not understand. The translator of Zephaniah must be charged with omission on this score.

1^{4} הכמרים עם. Chemarim occurs in only two other places in the Old Testament. In one of these the Septuagint transliterates it (II Kgs. 23^{5}), and in the other its translation is the result of a transparently inappropriate etymology (וכמריו—*καὶ καθὼς παρεπίκραναν αὐτόν*, Hos. 10^{5}). It is thus entirely probable that this (and the following) word was omitted because it was not understood.

1^{5}. The only argument that can be advanced in regard to המשתחוים (2) is stylistic. It seems to make the construction rather awkward. Cod. Q omits הנשבעים (2); this may be the Hesychian reading, for Cod. Q is an Egyptian manuscript. This disagreement in the Septuagint makes it difficult to determine which word, if either, is additional in the current Hebrew.

2^{3}. A desire to make the construction uniform may account for the omission of אשר and the suffix of משפטו. The mis-

reading of ענוה, by which the Peshitta was led astray, seems to have caused the omission of the third בקשו. This verse is a good illustration of how the Septuagint influenced the Peshitta.

3[10]. עתרי בת פוצי. The meaning of these words is not clear, and it is therefore more probable that they were omitted by the Septuagintist than that they were interpolated into the Hebrew subsequent to the time of translation. If *προσδέξομαι ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου*, as has already been suggested, was in the original Septuagint, it was later omitted under Syriac influence. *προσδέξομαι* may be a corruption for *προσεύξομαι* (cf. Ju. 13[8]). *ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου* seems to represent בְּנְפוֹצַי (cf. II Chr. 18[16]), which agrees closely with the reading that the Vulgate seems to suggest (*filii dispersorum meorum*—בְּנֵי פוּצַי).

(4). In the three passages that remain to be considered the Hebrew is difficult, and help from the versions would be very welcome.

1[3]. *et ruinae impiorum erunt*—ܘܬܘܩܠܬܐ ܐܡܠܐ ܥܠ ܪ̈ܫܝܥܐ—*καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς*—והמכשלות את הרשעים. The versions all agree as to רשעים (cf. Peshitta, Num. 16[26]), but each one gives it a different grammatical government. They also agree in regard to the root כשל (cf. Septuagint, Ez. 21[20]), though not in regard to the form of it here to be read. The את, which is difficult, is not represented in the Septuagint or Vulgate, and the Peshitta seems to have read it as the first person imperfect of אתה. Jerome wrote among other things in regard to these words, pro quo Sym. interpretatus est, *et scandala cum impiis*, ut subaudiatur, *congregabuntur*, sive *deficient;* Quinta autem ed., *et infirmitas cum impiis deficiet*. It would seem from this quotation that Jerome knew of the את in the text, and that the Vulgate translation is supposed to do justice to it. Though it is quite certain that this troublesome word is not represented in the Septuagint, it is impossible to determine what the Greek does represent. Perhaps the first word was read as a perfect with vau conversive; on this supposition the Hebrew has sometimes been corrected. The witness of the versions is contradictory and entirely inconclusive.

2[6]. *Et erit funiculus maris requies pastorum, et caulae pecorum*—ܘܢܗܘܐ ܚܒܠܐ ܝܡܐ ܕܝܪܐ ܘܡܪܥܝܐ ܕܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܡܪ̈ܒܥܬܐ ܠܓܙܪܐ ܕܥܢܐ—*καὶ ἔσται κρήτη νομὴ*

ποιμνίων καὶ μάνδρα προβάτων—היתה חבל הים נות כרת רעים וגדרות צון. Whether היה or היתה was read by the translators, it is impossible to determine. The Vulgate has omitted כרת and read נחת for נות (*requies* is the constant translation of נחת). The Peshitta has interpreted the verse freely in accordance with its reading of כרת (Crete) adopted from the Septuagint. חבל הים is not represented in the Septuagint; the order of נות and כרת is reversed; כרת is read as a proper name; *ποιμνίων* translates רעים (cf. 2[14] *ποίμνια*= עדרים; *αἱ νομαὶ τῶν ποιμένων*=נאות הרעים, Am. 1[2], seems to indicate that *ποιμνίων* must be corrected to *ποιμένων*). Perhaps the addition of *τῆς θαλάσσης* (2[7]) is compensatory for the omission of חבל הים (cf. Peshitta). The difficulty of the translators seems to have focussed in כרת, which is a *hapax legomenon.* This word is by many regarded as a gloss on נות; to others both it and חבל הים seem superfluous. The impossibility of correcting the Hebrew by the versions is patent, but היתה חבל is inexplicable (the noun is always masculine except in this verse, cf. 2[7]). The wide divergence of the versions from the current Hebrew and from each other becomes clear when the various texts are placed side by side in translation:

(*a*) Revised Version—And the sea-coast shall be pastures, with cottages (caves; others, wells) for shepherds and folds for flocks.

(*b*) Vulgate—And the sea-coast shall be a place of rest (cf. Verg. A. III, 393) for shepherds, and a fold for sheep:

(*c*) Peshitta—And the sea-coast shall be a dwelling place, and Crete a pasture for flocks of sheep:

(*d*) Septuagint—And Crete shall be a pasture for flocks, and a fold for cattle.

2[9]. *siccitas spinarum et acervi salis*—ܕܬܗܘܐ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܠܚܫܝܫܐ ܘܐܟܪܡ ܡܠܚܝܬܐ—*Δαμασκὸς ἐκλελειμμένη ὡς θιμωνία ἁλός*—ממשק חרול ומכרה מלח. Jerome read מִמְּשֶׁק, and *acervi* is dependent on *θιμωνία* (Siccitas, quod Hebraeice MAMASAC; . . . MEM si mutetur et DALETH accipiatur, easdem litteras habet quas et Damascus; . . . *θιμωνίαν,* id est, *acervum*). The Peshitta seems to have read מלוח (Job 30[4]), *mallow.* חרול (Syriac, ܚܪܘܠܐ; cf. Prov. 24[31], Lee, ܣܡܟܘܠܐ) was in contrast with מלוח, which grows wild, interpreted as cultivated grasses. מכרה was read as a passive form of כרת and translated as always by ܐܟܪ. A parallelism was produced by giving the

remaining word a corresponding meaning. The relative and suffixes, as well as the conjunction and copula, of the next verse are interpretative additions. The Syriac is thus to be rendered: because their crop has been destroyed, and their wild grass has perished. The origin of Δαμασκός is explained by Jerome. ἐκλελειμμένη shows that חרל was read for חרל. θιμωνία shows that מכרה was derived from כרת in a sense preserved in the Aramaic (כרי, ܟܪܝ) and the Assyrian (karū). ἀλός must, as has already been indicated, be read for ἄλωνος. While witnessing to the orginality of the current Hebrew, the versions give absolutely no help in its interpretation.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusion.

Everything in the versions that seemed to have a bearing on the criticism of the text has now been presented with as much fulness as it seemed to warrant. The nature of the material considered makes differences of opinion in regard to its proper distribution inevitable, but the necessity for some such scheme of classification as has been adopted will hardly be denied. The departures of the Vulgate from the Massoretic tradition which have been noted have no special merit, and of the readings in which it bears positive witness to a difference between its "Urtext" and the present Hebrew not one is worthy of consideration. In every case its witness to the text on which it is based (cf. 1^{14}. 2^{6}), or the witness of that text itself (cf. 3^{1}), is unreliable. The Peshitta, when it is independent of the Septuagint, disagrees with the Massoretic tradition very infrequently, and the few variants that it offers are no more worthy of acceptance than are those of the Vulgate. So far as it can be controlled, the testimony of these two versions is in favor of the accurate transmission of the Hebrew from the time of their origin. This conclusion would perhaps need some revision, if the numerous *non sequiturs* due to the process of translation could be eliminated. To possess the manuscript or manuscripts used by the translators would therefore be of considerable advantage to Textual Criticism.

If the recovery of the sources of the Vulgate and the Peshitta is a thing to be desired, the possession of the source of the Septuagint is positively a *sine qua non* for the full understanding of the history of the Hebrew text of Zephaniah, for this translation is but a sorry equivalent for its original. It was not made by one who had a "genius for translation", for his general inaccuracy seems to have been even greater than his lack of knowledge, unless indeed he attempted to cover his ignorance by manipulating his text. Many of his translations call vividly to mind the hit or miss achievements of a school-boy whose *pensum* stands between him and the play-ground. Luther accused the Septuagintists, as a body, of "disdaining to speak the letters, words and style". To show the justice of this criticism as far as Zephaniah is concerned, one need only to remove the numerous faulty or wrong translations and interpretations from the Greek text; for hardly a verse will then remain intact. A comparison of the possible with the impossible variants in the consonantal text that it definitely supports shows that the attitude which must be maintained toward the Septuagint of Zephaniah is one of general distrust. It rarely agrees with the Massoretic text, where that text is difficult; but the alternates which it suggests are generally even less acceptable.[1] It cannot be appealed to as an infallible authority on hapax legomena, nor can the Hebrew lexicon be enriched by the meanings of rare words that it supports. Since the testimony of the Septuagint as to its source is so unreliable, its value for Textual Criticism is much less than it might be in view of the comparative nearness of its "Urtext" to the autograph. It is especially unfortunate in this case that the Septuagint does not speak with a more certain voice either in condemnation or confirmation because of the difficulties which the Hebrew presents.[2] The only general conclusion warranted by the facts is that the Septuagint offers no conclusive evidence that the "Lagardian archetype" was not the text on which it

[1] יחריש for יחרישׁ (3[17]) has gained wide acceptance, and yet against this possibly correct reading three positively wrong readings of ך or ך must be balanced in this book. (1[11], 2[9], 3[9]).

[2] The difficulties in the Hebrew and in the interpretation of Zephaniah are briefly presented in Appendix I.

also was based. As far as the possibility of showing the contrary by external evidence goes, the present Hebrew text may well be that of the autograph of Zephaniah,[1] for the few parallels in thought and diction with other parts of the Old Testament to be found in the book are of no critical value (1^5—Jer. 8^2; 1^{12}—Jer. 48^{11}; 1^{13}—Am. 5^{11}; 1^{16}—Ez. 7^{19}; 2^8—Is. 16^6, Jer. $48^{26.42}$; $2^{14.15}$—Is. 13, $^{21.22}$, 34^{11}, $47^{6.10}$; 3^4—Ez. 22^{26}; 3^{10}—Is. 1^{18}), and the versions offer not a single reading which absolutely demands acceptance.

APPENDIX I.

THE "DIFFICULTIES" IN THE HEBREW TEXT OF ZEPHANIAH.

The words and phrases included in this list have occasioned a great deal of discussion. It may be safely affirmed that in regard to them nothing is certain.

1^2 אסף אָסֵף. The infinitive absolute is from a different root than the finite verb. (אאסף, Wellhausen; אֹסֵף, Nowack; cf. Ψ 104^{29}, Mi. 4^6).

1^3 את. The word stands between two nouns (הכשלתי את, Oort).

1^5 המשתחוים הנשבעים. The juxtaposition of these two participles is awkward. (Some would omit the former, while others prefer to delete the latter). Ehrlich (*Mikrâ Ki Pheschutô*, III, p. 456) suggests that the use of different formulas of swearing is indicated by נשבע ב" and נשבע ל"; the former referring to the חי form, the latter to the אני form.

1^9 הדלג על מפתן. The Targum seems to connect the words with the custom of the Philistine worshippers of Dagon, I Sam. 1^5; cf. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 2d ed., p. 117. Ehrlich (p. 457) translates: *die in den Vorzimmern herumscharwenzelen*. He thinks that sycophants are referred to, and that they are compared to dogs leaping up and down at the threshold of their master.

1^{14} מהר. This word must be read as a participle (ממהר, Wellhausen).

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[1] The protests of Conjectural Criticism and Higher Criticism do not properly fall within the limits of the present inquiry, but a few remarks which seem not entirely uncalled for have been added in Appendix II.

1^{14} קל יום יהוה מר צרח גבור. The grammatical relation of these words to each other and to what precedes is obscure. (The conjecture of Grätz is rather heroic, קל יהוה יצרח כגבור).

1^{17} לחם. The exact meaning of this word is unknown (cf. Job 20^{23}).

1^{18} נבהלה. בֶּהָלָה is the ordinary form.

2^{1} התקוששו וקושו. The meaning of the words is unknown.

נכסף is also uncertain (the Aramaic כסף means *turn pale*).

2^{2} בטרם with an infinitive occurs only here (in Is. 17^{14} and 28^{4} it is used with a noun), and the pleonastic use of לא with this conjunction is found nowhere else in the Old Testament.

2^{6} The word חבל seems to be feminine in this verse; in the next verse it is masculine. נות is found only in this verse; the usual form is נאות. כרת is a hapax legomenon of doubtful meaning (Ehrlich, כִּרְעַת).

2^{7} It is not clear to whom the suffix of עליהם refers (על הים, Wellhausen).

2^{9} ממשק and מכרה are hapax legomena, and the meanings usually given to the words are conjectural.

2^{11} The tense of רזה is difficult and its meaning is obscure.

2^{14} קל ישורר בחלון חרב בסף כי ארזה ערה? Ehrlich suggests that the ב of חרב is due to dittography, and he translates the first five words: *es pfeift lustig zum Fenster hinein, zum Loch an den Pfosten.*

3^{1} In מראה the א is hard to explain.

3^{3} גרמו is by many regarded as a hapax legomenon (cf. Septuagint), others take the word as a denominative from גֶּרֶם (cf. Nu. 24^{8}, Ez. 23^{24}).

3^{4} בגדות is a hapax legomenon as to form.

3^{6} נצרו is a hapax legomenon.

3^{7} כל וגו׳ seems to hang in the air. (It has been proposed to read מעניה with the Septuagint, to change יכרת to יסתר, and to take פקדתי על in the sense of *command*, Lagarde.)

3^{10} עתרי is a hapax legomenon. בתפצי?

3^{17} יחריש ב׳. A direct object for the verb seems necessary (יַחֲרֵךְ, cf. Ψ 21^{7}).

3^{18} There are two roots to which נוגי may be referred; of these one means *to be grieved*, the other, *to be removed*. The two

translations offered by the Revised Version illustrate the extreme obscurity of this verse.

3^{19} עשה-את is unusual (Grätz suggests that כלה be added, cf. 1^{18}).

The grammatical governments of בשתם is not clear (Nöldeke proposed to delete the final ם of שמתים and to take בשתם as its object.

APPENDIX II.

The Conjectural Textual Criticism and Higher Criticism of the Text of Zephaniah.

§ I. No one can say what may or may not happen to a text transmitted in manuscript, and therefore not even the wildest conjecture can be dismissed as impossible; but it is equally true, even though the contrary seems to be implied in the confident assertions of some, that the fact that Zephaniah may have expressed a thought in a certain form or written a sentence in a certain way does not actually prove that he did so write or express it. The relative plausibility of the readings which it has been proposed to substitute for those in the current Hebrew can be more or less accurately gauged. In Appendix I the conjectures that have something positive to recommend them have already been noted. A free reconstruction of the text obtained by raising poetical measure[1] or the demands of a fantastic theory[2] into a canon of Textual Criticism has hardly more validity than have the results of an entirely arbitrary change, transposition and recombination of letters.[3] The changes which show only what

[1] Much study has been devoted to Hebrew poetry in the last two decades. Müller (*Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form; Strophenbau und Responsion*), König (*Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*) and Sievers (*Studien zur Hebräischen Metrik*) have contributed largely to the recent popularity of this subject. The latest attempt to recast Zephaniah in poetical form was contributed by Fagnani to the *Harper Memorial Volumes* (1908).

[2] Cheyne (*Critica Biblia*, in loc.) has changed 2^{1} to read: והשתחוו ליהוה כשים והגי לו קנזם. He has the following note in support of one of his changes: ליהוה *is required as a parallel to* לו *though represented only by* ו *in* וקושו.

[3] Bachmann (*Zur Textkritik des Propheten Zephanja*, S.K; 1894) has emended $2^{1b\text{-}3a}$ to read: הגוי לא נכסף . . . . מלדת.

the critic thinks Zephaniah ought to have said can with safety be dismissed from serious consideration.[1]

§ II. This free Conjectual Criticism of the text gives much support to and gains much help from the Higher Criticism, which dissects an ancient document according to subjective standards of style and thought-cogency. The integrity of Zephaniah has often been denied. The following summary condensed from the article *Zephaniah* by J. A. Selbie in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* needs very little comment.[2] Keunen was inclined to regard 3^{14-20} as post-exilic on account of differences both in tone and situation from the rest of the prophecy. Stade denied to Zephaniah $2^{1.9.11}$ and the whole of chapter 3. Wellhausen (compare Nowack) suspected $2^{2.3}$, rejected 2^{8-11} and treated chapter 3 as a later supplement added in two stages (1-7 and 8-20). Budde (followed by Cornill, Einleitung, 3d edition) admitted $2^{1.3}$, $3^{1-5.7.8.11-13}$ as in harmony with Zephaniah's situation; he rejected 2^{4-15} mainly because Israel appears as the victim, not as the perpetrator of wrong; he excluded $3^{9.10}$ as breaking the connection between 3^{8} and 3^{11}; he declared 3^{14-20} to be a later lyrical epilogue. Schwally allowed to Zephaniah chapter 1, 2^{12-15} and perhaps 2^{1-4}, holding 2^{5-12} to be exilic and chapter 3 post-exilic, though 3^{1-7} *may* be Zephaniah's. G. A. Smith denied to Zephaniah 2^{8-11}, $3^{9.10}$ and 3^{14-20}. Driver remarked that 2^{11} seemed to be somewhat out of place and that 3^{14-20} is somewhat doubtful, though the 'question remains whether it is sufficiently clear that the imaginative picture was beyond the power of Zephaniah to construct.' Davidson defended the genuineness of chapter 2 as a whole, but considered it quite possible that it had been expanded in various places; he allowed that 3^{10} should possibly be omitted, but otherwise 3^{1-13} appeared to him to be genuine, although they might suggest that the passage was later than chapter 1; in 3^{14-20} he recognized quite a different situation from the rest of the book. König would apparently accept the whole of the book except the title which refers the prophecy to the days of Josiah.

This paragraph is an unintended, though on that account no less positive, refutation of the method by which such conflicting

[1] ערבים for ערדים and ינשוף for ישורר (2^{14}) are of this kind.

[2] The article Zephaniah in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* contains a similar summary by Driver.

results are achieved. One can hardly repress the thought that a great deal of these "assured results" is due to the endeavor of each latest critic to justify his rediscussion of the subject by presenting something different from that which his predecessors have said. It would seem from this paragraph that the book in its present form is but a sorry piece of patchwork; and yet the writer of the article *Zephaniah* in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* expressed the opinion that "the chief characteristics of this book are the unity and harmony of the composition, the grace, energy and dignity of its style, and the rapid and effective alternations of threats and promises." The critics themselves being witnesses, there is not a single verse which Zephaniah could not have written, and therefore one who is not anxious to father anything new can defend the integrity of the book by choosing his "authorities" with discrimination. The writer is free to confess that he is interested in the whole text, which *may* be Zephaniah's Zephaniah, rather than in that part of it which in the opinion of each critic a Zephaniah, who was on the plane of religious evolution which *he* thinks his age had attained, who possessed the mentality with which *he* is pleased to endow him, and who wrote as he himself would have written under similar circumstances, could or ought to have produced. The arguments and counter-arguments advanced for and against the genuineness of the many verses discussed are all singularly pointless and are invalid to overthrow the presumption established in favor of the integrity of the book by the mere fact that *some* one gave it its present form; for to that man's mind the book was a unit and the ease with which critics brush aside the arguments of critics demonstrates that an unbiased Higher Criticism can not show that the man in question was not the Zephaniah to whom the book has so long been attributed. Arguments based on the style of a writer known only through his works are notably precarious, even though he has left extensive literary remains. The psychological law of the Association of Ideas utterly condemns all argumentation based on thought development alone, for it shows that no combination or contrast of ideas—even abrupt change from threat to promise—is impossible. Zephaniah has left at most fifty-three verses; it is surely absurd to build up one's conception

of the man out of the first eighteen that are assumed to be his, and to use the conception of his style and capacities thus gained as a standard to determine which of the remaining verses he could and which he could not have written. Judged by present standards, strong arguments can be advanced to show that 3^{1-8b} originally stood between the two halves of 1^{12}:

(*a*). In the present text it is difficult to determine where the arraignment of Nineveh ends and that of Jerusalem begins. The Peshitta has actually referred 3^{1} to Nineveh, and the present chapter division of the Septuagint shows that 2^{16} was referred to Jerusalem by its author.

(*b*). The nexus between the second and third clauses of 3^{8} does not seem to be very close, but 3^{8c} in that it would emphasize the absolute hopelessness of Nineveh's condition would be an admirable conclusion to 2^{15}.

(*c*). 3^{1} continues in the style of 1^{11} and 3^{3-8b} contain the full charge on which the punishment threatened in 1^{12b} is based.

The *ipsi dixerunt* of the critics have no greater objective validity than those for this transposition have. A detailed discussion of all the points involved in this seemingly endless discussion would lead far into the theory of Israel's religious development, whose exigencies seem to demand such excisions ($2^{8.11}$, 3^{8-11}) as are not based on purely subjective considerations, and therefore the reader who seeks for arguments of this kind to support his belief in the integrity of the book must be left to find them in the works of such champions as each verse or verse-group has found.[1]

[1] The present tendency to find wholesale interpolations in the Prophets has been discussed by Vos (*The Eighth Century Prophets*, Presbyterian and Reformed Review, 1898).

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The writer was born in Meedhuizen, Province of Groningen, Holland, January 25, 1883. He received his primary education in the Public Schools of Chicago, Ill., and was graduated from Hope College, Holland, Mich., with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1903. He attended the sessions of the Princeton Theological Seminary during the years 1903–1907, receiving the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1907. He was the Newberry Scholar of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church from 1904 to 1907. From 1907 to 1909 he was a student in Columbia University, one year as a Fellow in Semitic languages. While in Columbia University he attended Old Testament lectures in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

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